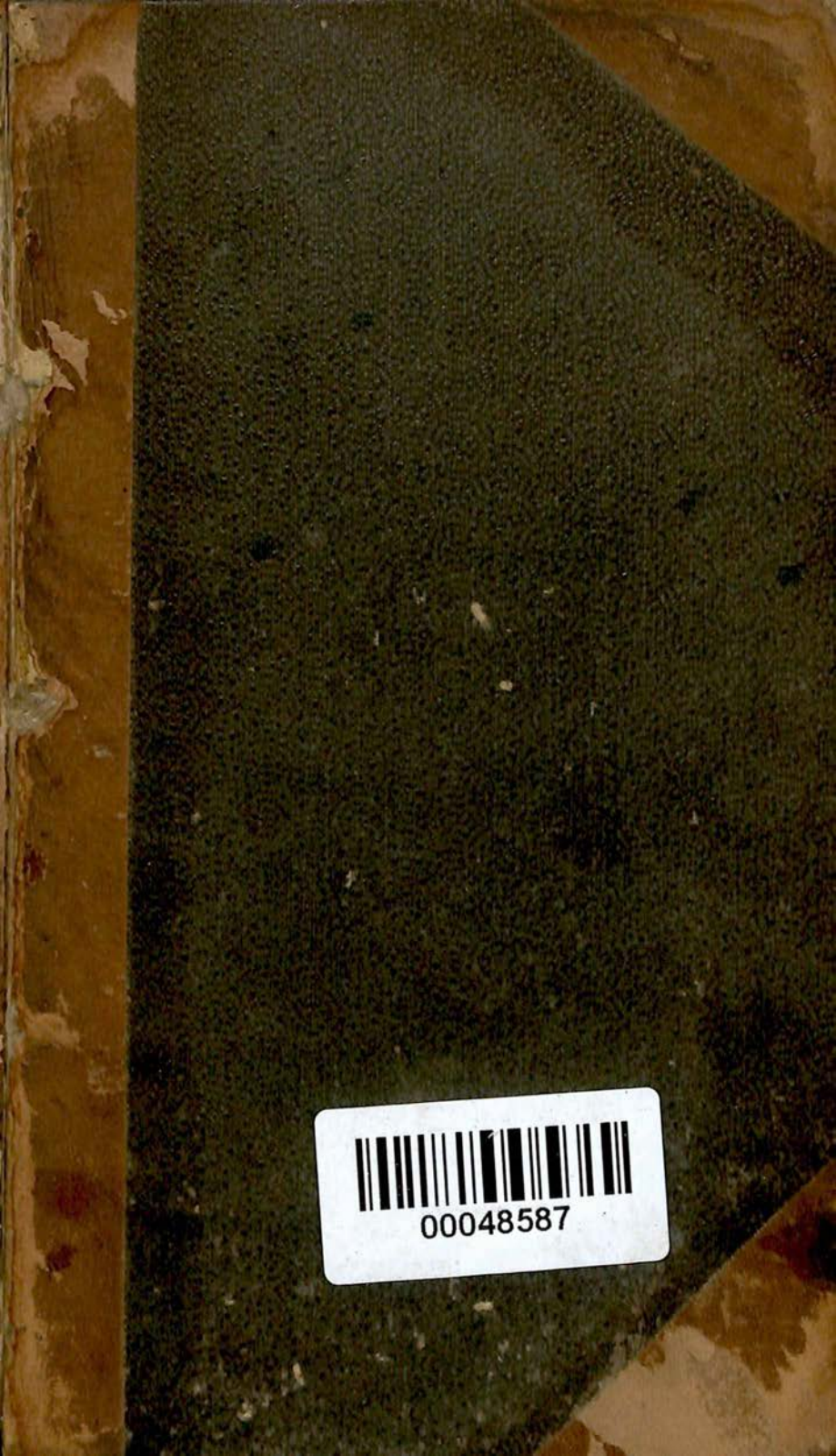
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BOMBAY BRANCH

OF THE

Royal Asiatic Society.

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ACCOUNTS and EXTRACTS

OF THE

MANUSCRIPTS

IN THE

Library of the King of France.

PUBLISHED UNDER THE

INSPECTION OF A COMMITTEE

OF THE

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THE

Tranſlator's Preface.

THE French monarch, in the publication now before us, has ſet an example to all Europe, well worthy to be followed. The advantages which are likely to accrue to the learned world, are ſo well explained in the Preface to the original, as to render it totally unneceſſary to offer any further panegyric thereon.

The immenſe ſtores of information which remain locked up in various libraries of Europe, has long excited a wiſh to have them made public. Few countries can boaſt of more valuable repoſitories of this kind than our own; and it is ſincerely to be wiſhed, that the preſent publication may excite an emulation in thoſe, under whoſe

whoſe province it more immediately falls, to imitate ſo excellent an example.

With reſpect to the preſent Tranſlation, every care has been taken to render it faithful; yet ſome errors will unavoidably have intruded themſelves in the names of perſons and places; for in the original we find the name of the ſame perſon or place frequently ſpelled different ways. And an additional cauſe for error is, the well-known cuſtom of the French to aſſume their own arbitrary orthography for proper names, by which they are frequently ſo much diſguiſed as ſcarcely to be known.

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ERRATA.

VOL. I.

PAGE 14, line 27, after *of*, read *the*. P. 47, l. 6, for *how*, read *what*. P. 64, l. 25, for *in*, read *of*. P. 99, for *not having*, read *have not*. P. 146, line 12, for *of*, read *in*. P. 180, l. 3, for *exſting*, read *exiſting*. P. 240, l. 3, dele *of*. P. 259, l. 27, after *chain*, inſert *which*. P. 282, l. 3, for *eſſential*, read *eſſentially*. P. 288, l. 9, for *explication*, read *explications*. P. 295, l. 17, for *indeed*, read *inſtead*. P. 323, l. 25, for *before*, read *firſt*. P. 371, l. 7, for *was certainly known*, read *certainly knew*. P. 389, l. 1, for *vollums*, read *vellum*. P. 400, l. 28, for *religions*, read *religious*.

PREFACE.

THE golden æra of ſcience and letters is not yet paſſed; the king knows how much theſe can contribute to his glory and that of the nation, and the miniſter of the academies, with as much knowledge as zeal, ſeconds the beneficent intentions of his royal maſter, in perpetuating theſe happy days; thus exciting an ardour for labour, by powerful encouragements, directed to the public welfare.

A new eſtabliſhment had juſt procured to the Obſervatory, books, inſtruments, and a fund ſufficient to ſecure unremitted inſtruction, and conſtant aſtronomical obſervations; when government raiſed the foundation of another inſtitution not leſs important; the deſign of which is, to revive the ſtudy of the learned languages and hiſtoric records; to diſcover to

France the riches ſhe poſſeſſes and is ignorant of; to point out to her the uſe of them, and to make all Europe participate of whatever can aſſiſt hiſtory and literature in the immenſe and valuable collection of manuſcripts in the king's library. And the Royal Academy of *belles letters*, to whom this work has been intruſted, has conſidered it as the moſt ſignal favour received from royal munificence, ſince the adminiſtrations of Colbert and Pontchartrain.

The year 1785, is the epocha of this eſtabliſhment. The marſhal prince de Beauvau, then preſident of the academy, at the firſt meeting in the month of January, communicated a letter, in which the baron de Breteuil directed him to inform the aſſembly of the king's reſolution, that for the future, eight academicians, (without interfering with their duty as ſuch) ſhould employ themſelves to make public, by exact accounts and judicious extracts, the manuſcripts of his library, to tranſlate, and even to publiſh, in their original languages, the pieces they ſhould think worthy to be printed at large: that three of the academicians ſhould examine the Oriental, two the Greek and Latin, and the other three the manuſcripts which concern the hiſtory of France, and in general the antiquities

antiquities of the middle age; and that each of them ſhould receive an annual appointment for this particular buſineſs.

That theſe accounts and extracts ſhould be read in a committee compoſed of the eight academicians employed in the work, four commiſſioners nominated every year by the academy to aſſiſt them, of the annual officers and the perpetual ſecretary, each to poſſeſs the power of giving his advice on ſuch readings; and that the ſecretary ſhould therein exerciſe the ſame functions, as in the academy, to which this committee is to be conſidered as an appendage.

The king's intention alſo was, that the employment on theſe manuſcipts, ſhould not be excluſively confined to the eight who were to have an appointment for their trouble, but that all the other academicians ſhould conſider themſelves invited to aſſiſt therein, and be admitted to the committee, to lay before them the reſult of their reſearches; and that thoſe ſeveral extracts and accounts ſhould be printed in the ſame ſize as the memoirs of the academy.

In order to afford this inſtitution all the extent and utility it is capable of, his majeſty was deſirous, that the execution ſhould not be confined to the academy, nor to the manuſcripts

in his library alone, but that the learned, both of the capital and provinces ſhould be invited to make known likewiſe, the manuſcripts preſerved in the public and private repoſitories to which they have acceſs, and to tranſmit the fruits of their reſearches, under cover of the miniſter, to the perpetual ſecretary of the academy, who is directed to report the ſame to the committee, and to form ſeparate volumes of them, in which the author of every account ſhall be announced at the head of his work; the latter volumes to ſerve as a continuation to the volumes compiled by the academicians, as thoſe may be conſidered as a ſupplement to the Memoirs of the Academy.

Laſtly, his majeſty reſerves to himſelf, for this time only, the choice of the eight academicians, who are to have a ſtipend for employing themſelves in this work, and directs that the company ſhould be immediately informed of this nomination; but hereafter, as theſe places ſhall become vacant, the academicians may elect ſuch of their members to ſucceed, as they ſhall judge the beſt qualified, and moſt diſpoſed to employ themſelves in ſuch works; the perſons ſo elected ſhall be ſubmitted to his majeſty, for his approbation.

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This new proof of the protection granted by the king to letters, excited the moſt lively gratitude, and the M. de Beauvau, was requeſted to lay at his majeſty's feet the reſpectful ſenſe entertained of a favour, which his own attachment to the academy made him participate, and to communicate their ſentiments to the miniſter who had conceived this plan, not leſs extenſive than uſeful, and who had thus ſecured the execution of it.

A ſecond letter from the baron de Breteuil, dated January 15, addreſſed to the preſident, informed the company, that the eight academicians choſen by the king were, meſſieurs de Guignes, de Brequigny, Gaillard, de la Porte du Thiel, d'Anſſe de Villoiſſon, Larcher, de Keralio, and the abbé Brotier. M. Larcher and the abbé Brotier having excuſed themſelves, the firſt, immediately after his nomination, and the ſecond, at the end of ſome months, their places were ſupplied by M. Vauvilliers and M. Sylveſtre de Sacy.

A few days after the nomination of the eight academicians, the marſhal de Beauvau, who watched over this infant inſtitution with that active and enlightened zeal, which he has conſtantly manifeſted towards whatever can con-

tribute to the advancement of letters, or the progreſs of knowledge, called the firſt meeting of the committee; they then fixed the plan which appeared moſt advantageous to purſue in the compoſition of the extracts and accounts; each of the eight academicians ſignified what department he propoſed to employ himſelf in; and the work, thus begun, has not ſuffered any interruption, and is continued with the ſame ardour.

This buſineſs differs eſſentially from the one now carrying on in the king's library, for the formation of a catalogue; it is of much greater extent, and intended to procure the enjoyment of thoſe treaſures, for which the other ſerves but to excite curioſity. The catalogue of the king's manuſcripts can only point out the works by the titles and numbers, or at moſt give a ſummary idea of ſome of the principal objects therein contained. In fact, it only aſſures the exiſtence of the works, and leaves the perſons who are neceſſitated to have recourſe to them, the trouble of conſulting and ſeeking therein, what the titles ſeem to promiſe them intereſting, and often unable to make this examination, either by their diſtance, or their ignorance of the language in which they are written. This new eſtabliſh-

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ment will in a great degree remedy theſe inconveniences; a learned foreigner, who has no communication with Paris, and the King's Library, may hereafter, even at the extremities of the globe, avail himſelf of the treaſures which this library contains, and may know what is comprized in the numerous manuſcripts therein preſerved, that is either eſſential in itſelf, or applicable to his purſuits.

We have obſerved that this eſtabliſhment will revive the ſtudy of the learned languages and hiſtory; this will be at leaſt a natural conſequence of it; and we have a right to expect, that among thoſe young gentlemen whoſe inclinations lead them to the purſuit of letters, ſome will apply themſelves thereto with ardour, when they perceive that the ſtudy of the Oriental languages, by facilitating their entrance into the academy, and procuring them an honourable employ, may conduct them perhaps, immediately, to an uſeful ſituation, which does not, like an academic penſion, require years of tedious expectation; that others will attach themſelves, with the ſame zeal and hope, to the inclinations they feel for the Greek and Latin languages, and for ancient hiſtory; and laſtly, that others will enter deeply into the ſtudy of the

the monuments and records of the hiſtory of France, and in general of the hiſtory of the middle age.

It is ſufficient to make known ſuch an inſtitution as this: it has no need to be ſupported by eulogiums; no one can be unacquainted with the high character for public utility, which the literary eſtabliſhments of Lewis XIV. ſo juſtly claim;—and this perhaps is the only one of the kind, the glory of which he has left to his ſucceſſors.

Whatever advantages we may promiſe ourſelves herein, we muſt not however believe, that all the manuſcripts in the king's library are alike worthy of notice, or can afford materials equally curious and intereſting: it is a mine, where we meet with particles of gold intermixed with leſs precious metals; but perhaps there are not any of theſe manuſcripts which do not, in ſome reſpects, merit the attention of the learned; and even if there ſhould be found a large number, from which nothing uſeful can be extracted, it will ſtill be rendering a conſiderable ſervice, to point out ſuch as are uſeleſs, and to ſpare others many laborious and fruitleſs reſearches. Neither muſt we imagine that the academicians, employed in this work, have begun

gun their extracts from the moſt important manuſcripts. How could they poſſibly make ſuch a ſelection from works, the greater part of which were abſolutely unknown to them? They could have no other lights than the titles, and theſe are too often deceitful guides; beſides, why ſhould they ſelect a few ears, when they have the whole field to reap in? It is therefore, in ſome reſpect, chance alone which will determine what part of this collection (of which we now preſent the public with the firſt volume) ſhall contain the moſt or leaſt intereſting materials. Thus, all that can be required from the compilers of theſe accounts is, that they proportion the extent of the ſelection to the importance of the work, and that they do not inſert, as far as they can poſſibly avoid, any thing but what may be uſeful or curious.

The printing a ſelection from the manuſcripts in the Oriental languages, makes the uſe of Oriental characters neceſſary, in a variety of inſtances. The baron de Breteuil convinced of this, and being informed that there were many ſorts of theſe different characters in the royal printing-houſe, where they had been neglected for near a century, directed a ſearch to be made for them, and engaged M. de Guignes to examine

and

and put them in order. This academician has not confined himſelf rigidly to the intentions of the miniſter, but availed himſelf of every circumſtance that could increaſe the utility of his labours, of which he has given an account in an eſſay at the end of the preface: as it has been thought, that an hiſtorical eſſay on theſe characters, on the works publiſhed at Paris in Arabic, Syriac, Armenian, &c. and on the Greek characters engraved by Garamont, under the reign of Francis I. which were thought to have been loſt, but are ſtill exiſting in the royal printing-houſe, ought naturally to be placed after the hiſtory of the preſent eſtabliſhment; one of the principal objects of which is, as we have already remarked, to revive, in France, the ſtudy of the learned languages.

AN

AN

HISTORICAL ESSAY,

On the Origin of the Oriental Characters in the Royal Printing-House, on the Works which have been printed at Paris, in Arabic, in Syriac, in Armenian, &c. and on the Greek Characters of Francis I. commonly called the King's Greek.

By M. de GUIGNES.

FRANCE has, in the preceding century, ſeen the ſuperb Polyglot of Le Jay iſſue from her preſs, and various other works printed in the Hebrew, Samaritan, Arabic, Syriac, and Armenian characters; but has lately been incapable of ſimilar publications; I muſt, however, except the Hebrew characters, with which many private printing-houſes are furniſhed: it is the other Oriental characters, Arabic, Syriac, Armenian, Samaritan, &c. which are here treated of. What then are become of thoſe which ſerved to print the Polyglot of Le Jay? the beauty and elegance of which were the admiration of the learned of Europe. This we are ignorant of: it has even been ſaid that Vitré had deſtroyed them, that they might not be able to print ſuch works after his death.

Thevenot, the traveller, who lived a ſhort time after him, in the account of his voyage, uſed Roman characters, for want of others, in ſome Turkiſh verſes, made

made by M. Petit de la Croix; and ſince that time, they have not printed any books at Paris in the Arabic language. Theſe beautiful characters have not ſince even been heard of; and the *Bibliotheque Orientale* of d'Herbelot, publiſhed in 1697, in which they might have made uſe of them, does not preſent us with a ſingle word in Arabic characters. The ſieur Lambert, the printer, is the firſt and only perſon, who, in an edition of Nebuhr's Voyages, publiſhed in 1779, has printed ſome long paſſages in theſe characters. Thus, for near a century, the loſs of thoſe which were uſed for the Polyglot have been regretted.

The committee eſtabliſhed by his majeſty in the academy, requiring Oriental characters for printing ſome extracts; the baron de Breteuil, zealous for the advancement of literature, and convinced of the neceſſity, cauſed a ſearch to be made among the papers in his cuſtody, to know if the king had not formerly been in poſſeſſion of ſuch characters. Soon after, by his orders, I repaired to the printing-houſe, to ſee if they could print ſome Arabic titles, in which I had formerly found great difficulty, when I had in vain endeavoured to get ſome words printed in that language, for the memoirs of the academy.

The director of the royal printing-houſe ſhewed me a prodigious quantity of puncheons, or punches, and matrices* in Arabic, Perſian, Syriac, and Arme-

* Puncheons, or punches, are the inſtrument on which the figure of the letter deſigned to be caſt, is cut in relief, and which being ſtruck hard on a piece of copper, leave their impreſſion thereon: the latter, which is called the matrix, is fixed in the bottom of the mould, in which the metal deſigned for the type is poured in its fuſed ſtate.

nian,

nian, with which a great number of characters might be caſt; *for there were not any already caſt in the royal printing-houſe.* It is needleſs to remark how great was my ſurprize, as muſt alſo be that of all men of letters.

They were ignorant at what time, or by whom, all theſe punches and their matrices had been made; who ordered, or who ſuperintended the engraving of them. I immediately conceived the plan of informing myſelf reſpecting them, and, after having examined theſe characters at the royal printing-houſe, I thought I recollected to have ſeen ſomething that reſembled them in different printed works: I conſulted theſe works, and my reſearches were not fruitleſs. I then inveſtigated, as far as was poſſible, the origin and progreſs of this kind of printing, and of Oriental literature at Paris; and I enquired how we have been able to reach ſuch a degree of perfection, as I perceived in the Oriental characters at the royal printing-houſe, which I then ſaw for the firſt time. Thus, by the labour of the committee, we are made acquainted with the treaſures of the king's library, and of his printing-houſe, another monument of the liberality of our monarchs, who have cauſed to be collected a prodigious number of Oriental manuſcripts, almoſt as little known as the characters I have juſt ſpoken of.

I ſhall divide this eſſay into two epochas: the firſt from the reign of Francis I. to that of Lewis XIII. included; the ſecond, from the commencement of the reign of Lewis XIV. until the preſent time. In both I ſhall make known what has paſſed, the moſt intereſting

intereſting with reſpect to Oriental typography, particularly at Paris. I ſhall point out the works that have been printed there, and ſome that have been printed in other parts of Europe. A knowledge of thoſe books is neceſſary to ſuch perſons as are deſirous to ſtudy the Oriental languages.

First Epocha.

The general council held at Vienna, in 1311 and 1312, under the pontificate of Clement V. with a view to re-eſtabliſh uſeful ſtudies in Europe, ordained, that at Rome, at Paris, and in the other univerſities, profeſſors ſhould be eſtabliſhed to teach the Hebrew, Arabic, and Chaldean languages; theſe profeſſors to be maintained at Rome, by the pope; at Paris, by the king; and in other cities, by the prelates, the monaſteries, and the chapters. This taſte for the Oriental languages, which the popes have ever ſince encouraged, aroſe from our cruſades, in which the aſſiſtance of perſons acquainted with Arabic, and other Oriental languages, became neceſſary. We find in the *Geſta Dei per Francos*, that, on the occaſion of a new cruſade, the reviving the ſtudy of thoſe languages is enforced, particularly the Arabic, which was judged neceſſary, to converſe with the natives of the country, to convert them to Chriſtianity, and to inſtruct them in the ſciences. This was regarded as a ſcheme that would promote the commerce of Eaſt and India, which the weſtern people carried on by way of Alexandria, under the protection, or by the conſent of the Muſſelmans, who did not permit them to go any farther. But when the cruſades ceaſed, the

the Chriſtians, who contented themſelves with ſending miſſionaries into the Eaſt, were deſirous they ſhould be inſtructed in theſe languages; and, after the diſcovery of printing, that they ſhould carry with them ſome impreſſions of books in Arabic to diſtribute there. The popes have always aimed at the accompliſhment of this, and were the firſt to eſtabliſh a printing-houſe for Oriental characters: it was long before the reſt of Europe followed their example. Theſe inſtitutions, which were deſigned for the propagation of religion, and the extenſion of commerce, became in the event uſeful to letters; and the learned of Europe, with a view to acquire additional knowledge, inſenſibly employed themſelves in the ſtudy of the Eaſtern languages: they began with the Hebrew and Chaldean, without which they could not read the Bible in the original: the Syriac appeared neceſſary to them for the knowledge of the New Teſtament, whether this book had been written originally in Syriac or Greek; for, if in Greek, it abounds with Syriac idioms. The ſtudy of the Arabic ſhewed them the great help that language is of, to arrive at a perfect knowledge of the other three, and that all of them ought to be cultivated by thoſe, who apply to the ſtudy of the Holy Bible. This is what they at firſt perceived; they afterwards found, that, by the Arabic in particular, they might become acquainted with the hiſtory of Aſia; the different empires which have been ſucceſſively eſtabliſhed there, and of which we have no clear ideas; our firſt works of that kind being full of errors, not in the hiſtoric

hiſtoric part only, but alſo in what relates to the religion, manners, and cuſtoms, of the Orientals. The geography of Aſia was little known to us, and it became neceſſary to conſult the Oriental geographers, who alone could correct our errors. The Arabians, the Perſians, &c. have made aſtronomical obſervations; the importance of which have been acknowledged: they have laboured with ſucceſs in the ſtudy of phyſic, and in every other part of the ſciences and arts. Large colleges, and ſocieties of learned men, were eſtabliſhed in the Eaſt; protected and ſupported by ſuch princes as loved learning. The Orientals have explored ſeas, become acquainted with countries, and attempted diſcoveries which are unknown to us: there was reaſon therefore to hope, that the ſtudy of their language, which had been ſo uſeful in commerce, would be equally ſo to the ſciences. Let us be ingenuous: the cruſades have effected for us, what the conqueſts of Alexander did for the Greeks. By drawing us from our native countries, they have made us acquainted with the people of the Eaſt; with their arts, which we have brought back with us; with their language, that has enabled us to profit of their literary labours, without viſiting their country; and with their trade, that we have endeavoured to poſſeſs ourſelves of, but which they have courageouſly defended. This having excited our emulation, has compelled us to attempt it by new courſes, and engaged us in extenſive navigations, which have contributed, more than all the armies of the cruſades, to deſtroy the Mahomedan trade between

tween India and Europe, by way of Egypt and Syria, and to transfer it to the European ports.

It was Francis the First alone, ſo juſtly eſteemed the father and reſtorer of letters, that began to put this ancient ſcheme in practice, by eſtabliſhing profeſſors to teach the languages of thoſe countries. In 1530, he founded the royal college, but confined himſelf to the eſtabliſhment of chairs for the Greek and Hebrew only; and it was not until the following reigns, that any were appointed for the Arabic and Syriac languages. This eſtabliſhment of Francis I. much diſpleaſed the univerſity of Paris, which long exerted itſelf to defeat it. A few years after, a very imperfect kind of grammar, of the Oriental languages, made its appearance at Paris, the work of the celebrated W. Poſtel; and, what is ſingular, he made uſe of proper characters, for the Hebrew, Samaritan, Ethiopian, Arabic, Syriac, Georgian, Illyrian, and Armenian languages. He had travelled into Aſia and Africa, where he had learned the Arabic, and purchaſed many books. This had impoveriſhed him ſo much, that he was unable to ſupport the neceſſary expences of his work; he ſolicited aſſiſtance without effect, but he found it in his own zeal and œconomy. "*Eram exauſtus,*" ſays he, "*et rerum, ob libros coemptos et peregrinationem nudus ut parum mihi ſupereſſet, unde hanc vitam philologicum tolerarum.*" However, he cauſed thoſe characters to be engraved, many of which were then unknown in France, and to all Europe. '*Sculptoribus nuſquam quicquam tale antea expertis.* His work

is intitled, *Linguarum duodecim Characteribus differentium, alphabetum introductio ac legendo modus longè facilimus*, at Paris, 1 vol. 4to. without date, and the pages not numbered; but the dedication, addreſſed to the archbiſhop of Vienna, P. Paulmier, is dated 1538. Another part of this work was publiſhed by P. Gomors, bookſeller at Paris, and dedicated to John Olivier, biſhop of Angers. Poſtel gives us the alphabet only of each language, with ſome examples for reading, till he comes to the Arabic, when he gives a complete grammar. This is the part which was printed by Gomors: the Hebrew characters are correct and eaſy to be known, though not beautiful; as to all the others, the Syriac, &c. &c. we may perceive that this art was then in its infancy; and I am doubtful, if in a long work they could be read, being ſo very imperfect. In the ſame volume we find a diſſertation on the origin and antiquity of the Hebrew language, dedicated to cardinal du Bellay, biſhop of Paris, and a compariſon of the Oriental languages with each other, and even with the Latin and French. This part was printed by P. Vidoue of Verneuil, 1538, and, with the others, ſhould form only one volume. This work of Poſtel's, which is as ſingular for its reſearches, as for the impreſſion of all theſe foreign characters, is probably the firſt of the kind from the Paris preſs. Under the reign of Francis I. alſo, Giuſtiniani executed at Genoa a much more conſiderable work, a Polyglot pſalter, in Hebrew, Greek, Arabic, and Chaldean, with Latin verſions to each, and notes, 1 vol. fol. 1516, *Petrus Paulus*

Paulus Porrus, Genuæ in ædibus Nicholai Juſtiniani Pauli Preſidenti reipublicæ Genuenſis, pro ſereniſſimo Francorum rege, preſidente viro Octaviano Fulgoſo, Anno Chriſtianæ ſalutis, 1516. The characters in this pſalter are not better than thoſe Poſtel made uſe of, and reſemble them much in their ill ſhape; but, conſidering the age, both theſe works merit great praiſe. To judge of men properly, we muſt revert to the age in which they lived; this undertaking therefore was very difficult, for the time; it required great knowledge, and in this more enlightened age, would be executed by the ſame men much better, and alſo be more uſeful.

In France, the ſtudy of the Arabic language made little progreſs. Henry III. in 1587, firſt founded a chair for that language in the royal college. It was at firſt filled by the phyſicians who ſtudied there, becauſe that language was judged uſeful for their improvement in medical knowledge, and in this they were not miſtaken: but they have ſince neglected that ſtudy; and although there are two chairs for the Arabic, the phyſicians have not ſince filled them.

They had not yet thought of printing Arabic in France; the characters of Poſtel had either been loſt or neglected, as they deſerved to be. Under Henry IV. Cajetan, who publiſhed a work, intitled, *Paradigmata de quatuor linguis Orientalibus precipuis, Arabicâ, Armenicâ, Syrâ, Ethiopicâ*, Paris, 1596, in quarto, was not able to find types for theſe characters, and thoſe which he uſed were cut on blocks of wood. Sometimes he made uſe of Hebrew characters, to give different paſſages in the Arabic, Syriac,

Armenian, and Ethiopian languages, becauſe he had no types of thoſe kinds; but his Hebrew is beautiful. This work was printed by Stephen Prevoſteau, printer to the king for the Greek language, *in Græcis typogr. regius.* They beſtow on Cajetan in the licence, the title of "King's Profeſſor of Oriental languages;" but we do not find his name in the liſt of royal profeſſors.

We may conclude from what has been ſaid, that under Henry IV. there were no other Oriental characters at Paris than the Hebrew; but a few years after, under the reign of Lewis XIII. we perceive this ſort of printing brought to a high degree of perfection, and ſurpaſſing, in the beauty and elegance of the types, all the other printing-houſes in Europe, even that of Rome, where they printed Arabic with the greateſt ſucceſs.

M. Savary de Breves, who had been ambaſſador from Henry IV. of France to Conſtantinople, had acquired, during his reſidence in the Eaſt, a taſte for the Oriental languages, and had ſtudied the Turkiſh ſo as to ſpeak it, as well as purchaſed a great number of fine manuſcripts: he was alſo acquainted with the efforts that pope Paul V. made to inſpire the different univerſities with the ſame taſte. This pontiff purſued herein the plans and intentions of Gregory XIII. who died in 1595, after having founded ſome colleges and a printing-houſe for the Oriental languages, with a view to convert the infidels, in obedience to the decree of the council of Vienna. Gregory XIII. had cauſed theſe Oriental characters to be engraved, and directed

directed many books to be printed, ſeveral of which were publiſhed. The death of this pontiff abated the zeal with which the plan had been purſued; but Paul V. who ſucceeded to the pontificate in 1605, revived it: this we learn from the preface to an Arabic Grammar of John Baptiſt Raymond's, dedicated to him, and printed at Rome in 1610. It is in Arabic and Latin, and compiled by an Arab. The tranſlator, J. B. Raymond, who plumes himſelf much on the ſervice which cardinal du Perron rendered him on this occaſion with the pope, promiſed to publiſh, afterwards, Arabic, Perſian, Coptic, &c. dictionaries. The Medici, thoſe lovers of the ſciences, had then eſtabliſhed at Rome an Arabic printing-houſe, *typographia Medicæa*, where the grammar we have juſt been ſpeaking of was printed.

M. de Breves*, who was at Rome in the time of Paul V. and who, beſides his zeal for letters, entertained ideas of conqueſt in the Eaſt, as may be ſeen in the relation of his embaſſy to Conſtantinople, had formed the deſign of eſtabliſhing a ſimilar printing-houſe in France, which would contribute to extend Chriſtianity in the eaſtern countries, and promote the

* M. de Breves had been ambaſſador at Conſtantinople twenty-two years. At his return, Henry IV. appointed him ambaſſador at Rome, where he remained to the end of the year 1614. In 1615, Lewis XIII. intruſted him with the education of the duke of Anjou, his brother; but he was deprived of that appointment in 1618. He preſerved the favour of the king until his death, in 1627. See the account of his travels, at Paris, 1628. There are yet ſome deſcendants of this celebrated man exiſting; to whom literature is ſo much obliged, though hitherto unknown.

commerce of the nation. To ſucceed in this, he employed many able artiſts, who were directed to engrave the Oriental characters for all kinds of books, not ſparing either trouble or expence. He thought that thoſe which were made uſe of at Rome, although beautiful, were not ſufficiently ſo; and he ſucceeded in ſurpaſſing them, by making uſe of the manuſcripts he had collected for models. I at firſt imagined he had employed one Le Bé, a celebrated engraver, to cut his punches. This I inferred from a letter of Erpenius to Iſaac Caſaubon, in which the former ſays, on ſending him his little collection of Arabic proverbs, that they were printed "*Typis Raphelengianis, non Labeanis ut futurum putabas.*" This letter is dated in March 1614. Le Bé had then been employed on M. de Breves's puncheons; but in the Hiſtory of the Proceſs againſt Vitré, who lived a little time after, and had all theſe puncheons in his hands, it is ſaid, M. de Breves *cauſed them to be made* in the Eaſt. Perhaps Le Bé might have made ſome addition to them: however, I have not found any memoir which has enabled me to clear this difficulty. What may induce a belief that they were made in the Eaſt, is, that M. de Breves did not return from his embaſſy to Conſtantinople, after a reſidence of twenty-two years, till towards the end of the year 1611. He ſtaid only fifteen months in France, and afterwards went to Rome; where, in 1613, he cauſed the catechiſm of cardinal Bellarmine to be printed in Arabic. Could he have time, in fifteen months, to engrave at Paris ſuch a prodigious number of puncheons?

It

It appears that there were not workmen in Paris capable of printing Arabic texts; and it is confirmed, that M. de Breves had his characters with him at Rome, with which he began his publications in 1613, with the catechiſm. In 1614, and at the time Erpeneus ſpeaks of Le Bé's characters, M. de Breves printed at Rome an Arabic pſalter, with a Latin tranſlation, publiſhed by Stephen Paulin: they inſerted in the title page, *Ex typographia Savariana*; which announces this work to have been printed with the characters of M. Savary de Breves. We ſee alſo, on the ſame title page, the arms of France and Navarre, and theſe words: "*Munificentia illuſtr. et excellentiſſ. D. D. Franciſci Savary de Breves, Regis Chriſtianiſſimi a conſiliis, ejuſque apud Paulum Voratoris et S. ducis Andegavenſis, ejuſdem Regis Chriſt. fratris amici, gubernatoris.*" We cannot therefore refuſe M. de Breves the glory of having publiſhed this work, which was printed under the inſpection and by the care of Scialac and Sionita, both Marionites of mount Libanus.

The Arabic title to the pſalter is in magnificent characters; the body of the book ſmaller; but all have a greater degree of elegance than thoſe of Rome or Medicis. Theſe two ſorts of characters, in the pſalter of M. de Breves, are exactly, both in the workmanſhip and ſhape, like thoſe I found in the royal printing-houſe; but this reſemblance is not ſufficient to prove they are the ſame; let us therefore purſue our enquiry after them.

The following year, 1615, M. de Breves returned to Paris, and brought with him Sionita, and the printer, Stephen Paulin: for, in that year, they there publiſhed, in the ſame characters, "The Articles of "a Treaty concluded in the year 1604, between "Henry the Great, king of France and Navarre, "and the ſultan Amat, emperor of the Turks, "by means of M. Francis Savary, lord of Breves, "counſellor of the king's council of ſtate and privy "council, then ambaſſador from his Chriſtian ma-"jeſty to the ſaid emperor," at Paris, from the printing-houſe of the Oriental languages, by Stephen Paulin, *rue des Carmes*, at the Lombard's college, 1615, ſmall quarto, of forty-eight pages. On the title page are the arms of France and Navarre. Thus we ſee the characters of M. de Breves tranſported to Paris, and employed in the printing of Arabic. The printer, Stephen Paulin, did not remain there long; for in 1620 we find him again at Rome, publiſhing Martelotto's Arabic grammar; and, in 1622, a Syriac dictionary. I cannot believe there were two Stephen Paulins publiſhing Oriental books at the ſame time; one at Rome, the other at Paris.

The departure of this printer from Paris did not prevent them from publiſhing ſome works in the Arabic character: they had undoubtedly found workmen there capable of ſupplying his place. In 1616, Sionita and Heſronita, two Marionites, printed there an Arabic grammar, by Jerome Blageart, at the Lombard-college, with this note: "*Ex typographia Savariana*," as on the Roman pſalter. All theſe Arabic characters,

racters, whether large, middling, or ſmall, reſemble thoſe which are now in the royal printing-houſe, and are certainly M. de Breves's, it being probable that he lent them to ſuch printers as were able and willing to print in the Oriental characters.

From the year 1591, they had printed at Rome, in the Medicis characters, the four Evangeliſts, with a Latin tranſlation, interlined, in one volume folio. The Arabic characters are fine. This edition was then regarded only as an attempt. At the end of the volume we read, "*Rem arduum et admodum difficilem in hac typographia aggreſſi ſumus, benigne lector, quippe quæ inuſitata et nova eſt et adhuc noſtris majorumque noſtrum temporibus non viſa impreſſionem nimirùm librorum Arabum, Syrorum, Perſarum, Ægyptiorumque, &c.*" It muſt be confeſſed that this work, for an eſſay, is a fine edition. The following year they printed, in Arabic, at the ſame preſs, the text of the Nubian geography: and this is the work, of which, in 1619, Sionita publiſhed a tranſlation at Paris, in which he inſerted ſome names in ſmall Arabic, becauſe he could not tranſlate them, the text appearing to him too corrupt. Theſe ſmall characters equally agree with the characters in the royal printing-houſe. In 1622, John Baptiſt Duval, profeſſor of the eaſtern languages, gave a Latin-Arabic vocabulary, but referring for the Arabic words to the pſalter of M. de Breves, he has only put, in Arabic characters, the title of the pſalms at the end of the work, printed by Anthony Vitré, who takes the title of "*Linguarum Orientalium typographus regius.* We ſhall ſee in the

ſequel

ſequel, it was this perſon who diſtinguiſhed himſelf moſt in this kind of printing. It appears by Duval's preface, they deſigned to print an Arabic dictionary, but wiſhed firſt to publiſh the whole Bible in different languages: "*Unde noſcant omnes*," ſays Duval; "*Gallas noſtras aquilas veteres, volatu ſuo, non æquaſſe modo, ſed altiùs penetraſſe.*" This is Le Jay's Bible, which, by its beauty, has excited the jealouſy of foreigners, to that degree, that in my copy of Duval's dictionary, they have put a manuſcript note in the margin, "*Imo hæc editio pudor eſt Galliæ*," words dictated by ignorance and paſſion.

In 1625, the Syriac and Latin pſalter for the uſe of the Chriſtians in the Eaſt appeared, printed by Vitré.* This is the firſt book which he produced at Paris in the Syriac characters, which alſo appear like thoſe I found in the royal printing-houſe.

In 1628, Sionita cauſed to be printed a work intitled, "*Veteris philoſophi Syri de ſapientiâ divinâ poëma enigmaticum*," in quarto, of thirty pages; the text Syriac, with a Latin tranſlation, at Paris, dedicated to Marillac, keeper of the ſeals. They then projected the printing an Arabic dictionary; a neceſſary work, and then much wanted. This Duval informs us.

*M. de Breves had not the ſatisfaction to ſee all the utility ariſe from his beautiful characters they were capable of; his death, which happened in 1627, it is thought, would put an end to all the hopes which had been formed from his zeal, and the expence he

* Life of cardinal Richlieu, by Le Clerke.

had

had been at, for the eſtabliſhment of an Oriental printing-houſe at Paris. His heirs expoſed the materials to ſale; and the Engliſh, as well as the Hollanders, who knew their value, treated for, and were on the point of purchaſing them; but Vitré, the printer, ſecured them for the king, who was deſirous to preſerve them. Theſe puncheons remained in his hands for many years; and on this occaſion a new eſtabliſhment was erected, which ſerved to load the cardinal de Richlieu with honour, whilſt the name of M. de Breves was almoſt forgot. In the epiſtle dedicatory to an Armenian dictionary, of which I ſhall hereafter ſpeak, are to be found the praiſes prodigally beſtowed upon the cardinal on this account.

The Oriental printing-houſe, at Paris, then took a new form: we ſhall judge if it was more ſerviceable to letters. We learn by different privileges granted for works which afterwards appeared, that "Lewis XIII. in 1631, thought proper to commit the care and ſuperintendance of the breviaries and church books to cardinal de Richlieu, to whom the privilege was granted, of making choice of ſuch bookſellers and printers as he ſhould judge capable, for the ſpace of thirty years, on condition that the ſaid bookſellers, to the number of eighteen, ſhould at the ſame time print the New Teſtament, the catechiſm, and grammars, in the Eaſtern languages, and give a certain number, gratis, which ſhould be ſent to the miſſionaries in the Eaſt, to diſtribute to thoſe who ſhall deſire to be inſtructed in religion; to which the ſaid bookſellers bound themſelves:" and we may be aſſured they kept their engage-

ments.

ments. At preſent the method of proceeding for the printing of church books, and for the conditions then impoſed, are changed, and religion, as well as letters, have loſt the advantages they drew from thence. Theſe advantages had been more conſiderable for literature, if this typographic ſociety had not been limitted to books relating to religion only. The firſt perſons who printed in this ſtile at Paris were not confined, as we have ſeen, to church books, for the Oriental converts; but it appears, that after this new eſtabliſhment, they were afraid to print a prophane book: I ſhould ſay, a book written by a Muſſelman. Vattier, in his preface to the tranſlation of the Hiſtory of the Caliphs, by Elmacin, publiſhed at Paris, in 1658, is fearful leſt they ſhould reproach him for having made known all theſe Muſſulman princes, enemies of the Chriſtian religion; and for that reaſon, reject his book; but diſſipates his fears, by obſerving, that no one has any ſcruple to read the hiſtory of the ancient Roman emperors.

The typographic ſociety of Paris printed ſome grammars and pſalters in the Oriental languages, uſeful works to thoſe who now learn thoſe languages; and happy they are when they can find them. Foreign typographers, leſs ſcrupulous, have procured for the learned other methods to improve themſelves in the ſtudy of thoſe languages, which lead to the knowledge of the Eaſtern people. Erpenius, under the protection of the ſtates of Holland, eſtabliſhed a printing-houſe in his native country. The Caſaubons were cloſely connected with him: Iſaac Caſaubon

ſaubon greatly encouraged him to apply himſelf to the ſtudy of the Arabic language, by procuring him every neceſſary aſſiſtance, " *ita ut ſupellectilem ſuam Arabicam, quam ſatis habebat luculentam, ultra mihi offeret et concederet,*" ſays Erpenius, in a letter addreſſed to Caſaubon's ſon, printed in the collection of Arabic proverbs, edit. 1623. In the firſt edition of his Arabic grammar, Leyden, 1613, he expreſſes himſelf nearly in theſe terms: " *Statem omnem mihi ſupellectilem ſuam Arabicam ultro communicavit.*" Caſaubon alſo exhorted him to publiſh his grammar quickly. Erpenius*, who alſo praiſes greatly Stephen Hubert, profeſſor of Arabic in the royal college of France, continued his labours with the greateſt ſucceſs, aided and encouraged by the French literati; who, doubtleſs, were troubled to ſee that thoſe who, in France, propoſed to give the Arabic editions, were for the moſt part divines. It ſeems alſo, that the printers had too much influence in thoſe works; which probably engaged the Caſaubons, and others, to ſhew greater favour to Erpenius's printing-houſe. Such a competition could not fail to be injurious; though probably it would not have taken place, if, like Erpenius, they had given ſome original texts of Mahomedan authors. This learned Hollander, himſelf a profeſſor of the Arabian language, publiſhed, in 1613, at his printing-houſe, which was ſupported by

* He gave a new edition, in 1628; *Thomæ Erpinii rudimenta linguæ Arabicæ, accedunt ejuſdem praxis grammatica et conſilium de ſtudio Arabico recte inſtituendo.* In octavo, Leyden, 1628.

the

the States General, an Arabic grammar of his own compoſition, very different from that which Sionita printed at Paris in 1616. The latter treats only of the alphabet and reading; this of Erpenius is the moſt methodical that can be, and the moſt eſteemed, even to this day, having been adopted by all thoſe who wiſh either to teach or learn that language. In 1625, he gave the Arabic text of the hiſtorian Elmacin, with a Latin tranſlation. It is the firſt of the kind that appeared in Europe; and Vattier, profeſſor in the royal college of France, tranſlated it immediately into French. Erpenius printed ſeveral Arabic editions of it. In 1616, he publiſhed an Arabic verſion of the New Teſtament; in 1622, an ancient Arabic verſion of the Pentateuch; and in 1625, the pſalms, in Syriac and Latin. Theſe different works contributed to inſpire the learned of Holland with a taſte for the Oriental languages, which they have retained ever ſince; and the printing-houſe of Erpenius, next to that of Paris, has ſurpaſſed all others in the beauty of the characters.

It appears* that many learned men in France did not form an advantageous opinion of the typographic ſociety of Paris. M. Galland ſuppoſes that the works then printed were not with a view to be uſeful to thoſe among us who wanted to learn Arabic; "For "how (ſays he) could they profit by them, at a "time when they had neither grammar nor dic-"tionary in that language, which they could make

* Preface to the Oriental Bible.

"uſe

"uſe of? But (adds he) they went to this great "expence, with an intent to make a trade of theſe "books in the Eaſt; a deſign which at firſt proved "abortive, for the Mahomedans would not receive "the copies when brought to them. In fact, they "were afraid that in the end they would introduce "the Alcóran printed: this would have been re-"garded by them as the greateſt profanation that "could happen to it." Such is Mr. Galland's reflection. Mean time we ſhould remark, that the privilege granted the ſociety, directed that the bookſellers ſhould deliver a certain number of copies to the miſſionaries *gratis*; which is very different from the vile intereſted views ſome perſons would wiſh to find in this eſtabliſhment. He obſerves again, that it was for a political reaſon the Turks rejected theſe impreſſions. We learn elſewhere, that Selim I. emperor of Conſtantinople, revived, in 1515, a firmaun of his father Bajazet II. who prohibited the uſe of printed books under pain of death. The Moors were leſs ſcrupulous in that reſpect: it is ſaid that there are printing-houſes in Morocco, but that they make it a point of religion not to permit their horſes, corn, or books, to be exported. In the Eaſt, an infinite number of perſons, who ſubſiſt by copying books, would have been reduced to beggary by the introduction of printing. They were afterwards willing to eſtabliſh one, and have printed at Conſtantinople many Turkiſh books: but it was

* MS. notes of the ſecretary's office of the king's library.

abandoned;

abandoned; and the Mahomedans always prefer their manuſcript to our printing, although the latter is moſt legible.

However, the typographic ſociety at Paris did not delay to fulfil their agreement. In 1613, they publiſhed an Armenian dictionary, intitled "*Dictionarium Armena Latinum*, by Francis Rivola, of Milan, *impenſis ſocietatis typographicæ librorum officii eccleſiaſtici juſſu Regis conſtitutæ*," one volume, in quarto, four hundred pages, dedicated to cardinal Richlieu. It iſſued from the preſs of Anthony Vitré, who ſeems to have applied himſelf to the printing of Oriental books. The impreſſion of theſe Armenian characters are like thoſe in the royal printing-houſe. They were at this time employed in printing the grand Polyglot Bible of Le Jay; which did not prevent Vitré from publiſhing, the ſame year, another little work, the ſecond edition of the Turkiſh grammar of Du Ryer, who had been the French vice-conſul in Egypt, and who gave the public a tranſlation of the Alcoran, printed in 1634. This grammar was printed by order of cardinal de Richlieu, for the uſe of the miſſions, and diſtributed *gratis*, at Paris, by Vitré. This bookſeller printed, at the ſame time, the Arabic text, and the Latin tranſlation, of the conditions impoſed by Mahomet on the Chriſtians. Du Ryer acquaints us, in the preface to his grammar, that there were at Paris divers perſons who underſtood and ſpoke the languages of Aſia, Africa, and even of America; ſo much were foreign languages then cultivated.

In

In 1635, Vitré publiſhed another work, which contains the alphabet of the Oriental languages, Hebrew, Rabinical, Samaritan, Syriac, Arabic, Armenian, and Turkiſh; with a Greek alphabet, and ſome exerciſes for reading. Vitré there takes the title of printer to the king and clergy. The Turkiſh characters I now ſpeak of are the ſame as the Arabic, which the Turks have adopted.

In 1638, the typographic ſociety publiſhed a new edition of the grammar of Erpenius, printed by Vitré. They always had in contemplation the publiſhing an Arabic dictionary; a work with which they ought originally to have begun, but probably there was not any one in a ſituation to do it; and this great undertaking was reſerved for Golius, the ſucceſſor of Erpenius. His dictionary was printed at Leyden, in 1653. Giggeus had juſt publiſhed one at Milan, but that of Golius has been preferred by all the learned. Before this, there had been publiſhed in Europe, only ſome vocabularies and ſmall dictionaries; works of little uſe in a language ſo copious as the Arabic. We ought here however to except a dictionary, uſeful to thoſe who go to the Eaſt, and wiſh to ſpeak the Arabic: it was printed by the *Propaganda*, under the title of "*Fabrica linguæ Arabicæ, cum interpretatione Latinâ et Italicâ*," 1639, one volume, in folio. This dictionary of the vulgar Arabic has the Italian firſt.

The typographic ſociety at Paris were wholly employed about their grand Polyglot Bible, of which

we have already ſpoken. We find, by the different volumes, that in 1632, 1633, and 1635, there were already many of them printed; and it appeared in 1645, under the title of "*Biblia Hebraica, Samaritana, Chaldaïca, Græca, Syriaca, Latina, et Arabica,*" at Paris, by Vitré, ten volumes, in large folio, on fine paper. M. Le Jay planned this undertaking, and executed it at his own expence. He had cauſed characters, or puncheons, for the Samaritan, to be engraved: we learn by a letter of his ſon, the dean of Vézelay, that the latter ſent to the king's library the punches and matrices of the Samaritan and the Syriac, ſome matrices for Arabic accents, and ſome for the Armenian characters: but we ſhall ſpeak on this ſubject hereafter. I know not whether he cauſed to be engraved, the puncheons of the beautiful Hebrew characters which we ſee in his Bible. It is to be regretted, that in the enumeration he makes of thoſe who have aſſiſted his undertaking, we do not find a word of M. de Breves, not even his name; notwithſtanding which, theſe beautiful characters were his, by which the Oriental typography was introduced, and the ſame were uſed for the impreſſion of the Polyglot. The name of cardinal Richlieu, the inſtitutor of this ſociety, has cauſed that of M. de Breves to be entirely forgotten; but it muſt be confeſſed, that without the latter, it had never appeared. This Bible is admired for the impreſſion and beauty of the characters; but it wants the prologomena, and the neceſſary diſſertations, which is the reaſon it has been little ſought after. It is a beautiful work of art, and the only one

of

of the ſort that we have attempted. The Engliſh Bible, which appeared in 1657, in ſix volumes, folio, though leſs beautiful, and very inferior to the Paris edition, is yet more complete: they have beſides printed the Ethiopian and Perſian texts; it is alſo accompanied with long prologomenas; and Caſtel, in 1669, added thereto two volumes, in folio, which contain a dictionary of all theſe languages. What I have here ſaid of the beauty of Le Jay's Bible, is confirmed by Wolfius, in his Rabinical library. He expreſſes himſelf in theſe terms: "*Eximium certè hoc eſt artis typographicæ ſpecimen et exemplum, ſi et literarum et chartæ elegantiam ſpectes, tale omnino quod exteriorum typographorum invidiam et æmulationem, excitabit et Pariſienſes ſemper ſupra illos collocabit, quibus ſine injuria denegari non poteſt hæc gloria quòd typographicum ad ſummum apicem perduxerint*"

The Polyglot of Le Jay had its merit. The magnitude of the enterprize, the beauty of the execution, the re-union of all the texts with their Latin verſions, deſerved a different fate. But it excited many envious and jealous people againſt the author, and from thence had very little ſucceſs, which much deranged the affairs and fortune of M. Le Jay, who had ſacrificed every thing to that work. The Prologomenas, which Watſon put at the head of his Polyglot, are not equally eſteemed by all the learned; the dictionary of Caſtel, which accompanied this Bible, is badly conſtructed in the principle, and the Oriental characters are heavy, coarſe, and little connected with each other.

While the preſſes of Paris were employed on this edition of the bible, Golius, in 1636, publiſhed in Holland, the Arabic text of the hiſtory of Tamarlane, which Vattier, of whom I have already ſpoken, tranſlated into French. In 1639, Lewis de Dieu cauſed a Perſian grammar to be printed in Holland, and the life of Jeſus Chriſt in Perſian and Latin. This hiſtory of Jeſus Chriſt is full of tales and fables. Thus Lewis de Dieu has put in the title, "*ſimulque multes modis contaminata.*" It was compiled in Portugueſe, by F. Jerome Xavier, a Jeſuit, by the order of Akbar, the Mogul emperor, and tranſlated into Perſian by Abdel Senarim Kaſen, of Lahor.

Such was at this time the ſtate of typography; and by a natural conſequence, that of Oriental literature. The learned of France, who wiſhed for other Oriental texts, haſtened to tranſlate them, but the typographic ſociety did not print any; yet it was not wholly uſeleſs to letters, ſince they publiſhed many books which we make uſe of to learn theſe languages. By all I have juſt ſaid, we ſee that the principal aim of the typographic ſociety was the converſion of infidels, and that the miſſions, that are ſo frequently exclaimed againſt, have procured us ſome uſeful knowledge, which the merchants have not endeavoured to acquire. Thus the eſtabliſhment of the miſſions of Rome and Paris, eſtabliſhments which ſome other nations of Europe have adopted, have been the origin and ſource of all our Oriental literature. Let us now proceed to the ſecond Epocha under the reign of Lewis XIV.

SECOND EPOCHA.

I have ſaid that the characters in the royal printing-houſe, are the ſame that were made by M. de Breves; their forms, and the manner in which they are cut and engraved, convince me of it; but as this is only conjecture, more convincing proofs are neceſſary, and other facts to ſhew us, that M. de Breves's characters, after paſſing through different hands, ſome of which are thought to be Engliſh, have come into this printing-houſe by the purchaſe which was made of them for the king. This is what I am going to eſtabliſh, from ſome authentic documents I have conſulted, which M. de Farcey, keeper of the king's palace, has communicated to me. This precious repoſitory, kept with the greateſt care, and in the beſt order, is a ſource, from which a man of letters, who would employ himſelf in our literary hiſtory, and that of the royal printing-houſe in particular, will find a ſelection of anecdotes very little known, and intereſting accounts, which are ſo many proofs of the protection which our king's have conſtantly accorded to the ſciences. I have alſo ſearched into the ſecretary's office of the king's library, which contains different pieces of all that is curious concerning the royal printing-houſe. In ſhort, the director, when he tranſmitted me all the puncheons of the Oriental characters, alſo intruſted me with ſome memoirs relating to this ſubject; ſome copies of which, in the king's library, I had already conſulted.

It is from theſe original pieces, and from different printed works, that I am enabled to give a ſhort hiſtory of the fate of theſe puncheons, univerſally regarded as maſter pieces of workmanſhip. Theſe reſearches, which will confirm the actual exiſtence of all theſe characters, will alſo ſerve to re-eſtabliſh the reputation of one of the moſt celebrated printers of France, Anthony Vitré, who publiſhed the beautiful Bible of Le Jay. Let us hear the author of the hiſtory of the printing-houſe and library: "*The great reputation* " *which he had acquired by this impreſſion, has been in-* " *jured by his malice, in cauſing the Oriental characters,* " *which had ſerved to print that bible, to be deſtroyed in* " *his preſence, to prevent any one at Paris from printing* " *books in theſe languages after his death, which is an* " *irreparable loſs to the typographic art.*" Chevalier goes further, " *They ſay, and a bookſeller of Paris has* " *written, that Vitré one day cauſed all the puncheons,* " *matrices, and types, which he had in thoſe languages, to* " *be melted and deſtroyed in his preſence. This was a great* " *loſs to the univerſity; we may ſay it was as great a loſs* " *to the glory and reputation of the Paris typography.*"

After ſuch aſſertions, all the learned of Europe have believed, and continue to believe, that theſe characters, puncheons, and matrices, are no longer in exiſtence. Let us purſue the hiſtory of them, and we ſhall ſee them again re-appear at the Paris printing-houſe. Thus Vitré has neither deſtroyed the puncheons, or the matrices, with which all the characters we want may be caſt; and I haſten to do him this juſtice,

juſtice, after he has been branded with ill-founded reproaches for more than a century.

In 1627, theſe characters, after the death of M. de Breves, to whom they belonged, and who in his zeal for religion and letters, granted the uſe of them to different printers, that were willing to publiſh Oriental books. Theſe characters, I ſay, or rather theſe puncheons, with their matrices, were on the point of being ſold to foreigners; but the clergy, with a deſign to preſerve them for the uſe of the nation and religion, oppoſed it, and the king, Lewis XIII, who was deſirous to acquire them, directed his printer, Vitré, to purchaſe them, which he did. This commiſſion, which Vitré executed with the greater zeal, as he projected great undertakings in this ſort of printing, brought on him a long law ſuit, which he had to defend againſt the heir of M. de Breves, who, in default of payment, reclaimed the characters. This Vitré himſelf acquaints us with in a printed memorial, intitled, * *Hiſtory of the ſuit renewed from time to time*

* This memoir, in 4to. of twenty-eight pages, is printed without either date, name of place, or author; it is by Vitré himſelf, who publiſhed it for his juſtification. This appears by the memoir itſelf, p. 19. wherein it is ſaid, that Vitré bequeathed to Mr. Herbert, his reporter in parliament, the two firſt leaves of this hiſtory, becauſe theſe only were printed. The pieces that are there reported end in 1654, before the clergy took up this affair. I am indebted to Mr. Paſteret, counſellor in the court of aids, and aſſociate of the academy, for the knowledge of this memorial, which becomes a very important piece in this caſe, who found it in his library, among a number of reports, and was anxious to acquaint me with it. After having made uſe of it, I thought myſelf obliged to return it to the king's palace, to be there preſerved, with other pieces, concerning the royal printing-houſe.

againſt Vitré, on account of the purchaſe which the king had obliged him to make of the puncheons, matrices, and Turkiſh, Arabic, and Perſian manuſcripts, that the late M. de Breves had collected in the Eaſt, during his reſidence at Conſtantinople, and with proofs of the ſtate they are in at preſent. We learn from this memorial, that the king commanded Vitré "to take care that theſe ſingular things, ſo beautiful "and admirable, were not ſold to foreigners, who "would carry them out of the kingdom; as well be-"cauſe they might prejudice religion, as that it would "deprive the kingdom of one of the greateſt orna-"ments." Theſe expreſſions proved how much they then eſteemed all that might conduce to valuable and ſolid information. A few days after, the cardinal de Richlieu directed Vitré (from the king) to purchaſe them at any price, but not to ſay they were for the king. Vitré obeyed, and became purchaſer, in his own name, for 4300 livres; a ſum far beneath their value: it was purchaſing them for nothing. Monſieur de Noyer had long before offered 27,000 livres for them, on the king's account, but could not obtain them. The king directed them to be depoſited in the chamber of accounts, with the Greek puncheons of Francis I. a repoſitory where they preſerve all valuable things; but in ſuch a manner, that they fall (as I may ſay) into oblivion, becauſe they are loſt to ſight, on account of the troubleſome formalities which it is neceſſary to obſerve to have acceſs to them. This has been the ſituation of the puncheons of Garamont, made during the reign of Francis I.

The

The puncheons of M. de Breves, without being placed in that ſtore-houſe, have experienced nearly the ſame fate; but have undergone greater riſk, and for a long time have been thought to be loſt. Theſe puncheons, according to the ſtate of them, which I found in the memoir I have cited, are,

324 Large Arabic.
445 Middling Arabic.
255 Small Arabic.
353 Perſian, ſmall and large.
161 Syriac.
68 Vowels, for the Arabic, Perſian and Turkiſh.

1606

But I believe there are ſome miſtakes in theſe numbers, ſince this account is not agreeable to the one given at the beginning of the memoir, *that the puncheons, with their matrices all ſtruck, amount to more than* 2000 *each, &c.* At preſent, theſe puncheons, with a dozen which have been ſince engraved, and with 47 Armenian, which Vitré had added, amounted to 1920; a number agreeing better with Vitré's account.

A number of Oriental manuſcripts, purchaſed in the Eaſt, were included in the adjudication of theſe characters of M. de Breves. This forms a valuable collection, which, joined to the puncheons he had cauſed to be engraved, prove both his taſte and zeal for the ſciences; but all theſe literary treaſures, with which he hoped to enrich his country, remained long unnoticed. However, the king iſſued an ordinance for 6000 livres; his

his intention, ever directed towards the progreſs of letters, was, that the ſurplus of the 4300 livres ſhould be employed, to cauſe puncheons to be engraved, and matrices to be ſtruck, in the Ethiopian and Armenian language, which he directed to be added, *to the end that his majeſty might poſſeſs the characters of every nation in the world.* But to compleat the king's good intention, there are many others at preſent wanted. It is true, that with the Arabic, Perſian, Syriac, and Armenian, they have thoſe of almoſt every one of the learned people of Aſia; and in Africa, the Ethiopian are the only books we are acquainted with. We had not then ſufficient connection with the people of the ſouth, and of the eaſtern extremity of Aſia, to enquire into their different languages and characters, as in many countries of Europe they have lately done. Thus, under Lewis XIII. we were in poſſeſſion of nearly all the characters of the Oriental people, who were known, and who had cultivated the ſciences.

From this ſtate it appears, that the Armenian characters, which we now actually have in the royal printing-houſe, belonged to Lewis XIII. and not to M. de Breves, as ſeems afterwards to have been thought. Vitré immediately made an agreement with Jaques de Sanlecque, engraver and letter-founder, to undertake the engraving of theſe new puncheons, beginning with the Armenian; but the Ethiopian were not executed, from the difficulty which aroſe in the payment of the ordinance.—Sanlecque ſent Vitré the Armenian puncheons and matrices, and demanded payment; Vitré, who had not

not then received the ordinance, to avoid a law ſuit, was obliged to make engagements on terms, which he paid out of his own money. It was not repaid him in 1663, the year in which he publiſhed his Armenian dictionary with theſe characters: as they had been engraved by order of the king, there is no mention made therein of M. de Breves; but on the king and the cardinal Richlieu the higheſt praiſes are beſtowed; to the latter the work is dedicated.

On the other hand, the heirs of M. de Breves purſued Vitré for payment for the puncheons, matrices, and manuſcripts, of which he had made himſelf purchaſer; but having preſented a memorial, he obtained an arrêt of council, dated June 20, 1633, by which they were prohibited from troubling him. The calamities of the times prevented theſe payments; Vitré, on this occaſion, complains that he was obliged to pay even the expence of the arrêt himſelf, as if it had been a concern of his own. The heirs of M. de Breves left him afterwards long unmoleſted.

He had in his poſſeſſion the puncheons and matrices, but the manuſcripts remained in the hands of Sionita, who was then confined at Vincennes. Sionita, by birth a Syrian, and brought into France by M. de Breves, who had known him at Rome, was profeſſor of the Arabic language in the royal college, and worked upon the texts which were re-printing for Le Jay's Polyglot, but was, they ſay, of a ſlow and idle diſpoſition, more anxious after repoſe than honour, and loved good cheer better than labour. He quarrelled with M. Le Jay, and had ſome warm diſputes

putes with Ecchellenſis, and ſome others. This obliged M. Le Jay to carry his complaints to the king's council; and it was on this occaſion he was impriſoned at Vincennes. Cardinal Richlieu, who wiſhed to have the manuſcripts, cauſed an order to be iſſued to Vitré to redeem them. Then followed a new proceſs, on the part of Vitré: a petition preſented to the lieutenant civil; an ordinance of that magiſtrate (of 20th of January, 1640); a ſearch by the officers of juſtice, at Sionita's; and the opening of doors by a locksmith, in the preſence of witneſſes. They found one hundred and ten Oriental manuſcripts which the commiſſary Boiſſy marked with his initials, and delivered to Vitré, who cauſed them to be carried away. He was charged with all the expence of this ſeizure, and paid it. Some days after, he received an order to bring them to the cardinal's palace, where the archbiſhop of Rheims, then biſhop of Chartres, received them: they were bound up with the arms of the cardinal, placed in his library, and the king cauſed an arrêt of council, dated the 29th of March, 1642, to be iſſued to diſcharge Vitré. I have marked theſe two circumſtances, of the initials of the commiſſary, and of their being rebound with the cardinal's arms, that they might be identified: beſides, Vitré has given a catalogue of them at the end of his memorial.

Theſe manuſcripts, collected by M. de Breves with ſo much care, experienced as unfortunate a deſtiny as the characters he has cauſed to be engraved: thus placed in the cardinal's library, they remained there. However, they did not then regard them as belonging

longing to the cardinal, ſince, afterwards, the chancellor directed Vitré to demand them again from the ducheſs d'Aiguillon; they had therefore only been depoſited in that library by order of the king. M. Aniſſon is in poſſeſſion of the original inventory of this library, in 1643 and 1644, in two large volumes, folio: he did me the favour to communicate them to me, and I found theſe manuſcripts mentioned in the firſt volume, No. 2542 to 2652; and although this catalogue is in Latin, and in a manner abridged, I eaſily found all the articles pointed out in French, in Vitré's catalogue; and without which, we ſhould not have had the leaſt knowledge of this ſtore. In fact, in the inventory I have juſt ſpoken of, there is nothing to indicate from whence they came; and they are entirely confounded with the cardinal's other books. Since that time, theſe manuſcripts have not been heard of; and, contrary to M. de Brèves's intention, have not been of any utility to the learned, to whom he communicated them, and for whom he had acquired them; they have remained entirely forgotten in the library of the Sorbonne, whither that of the cardinal Richlieu has been carried.

We muſt always regret that the king, who had purchaſed theſe manuſcripts, has been ſo long deprived of them: they ought properly to have been carried to the royal library, ſince they belonged to the king; which was not done, although the chancellor, after the cardinal's death, reclaimed them: they did not then look upon them as forming part of the cardinal's effects.

If

If theſe manuſcripts had been in Hebrew, and concerned the Holy Scripture, the place where they were might have been proper; but Turkiſh, Arabic, and Perſian manuſcripts, which have no connection with religion, and for that reaſon have remained until this time unknown, ought to have been placed in the king's library, where the learned could have conſulted them. Employed as I was in the ſearch of all the puncheons which M. de Breves had cauſed to be engraved, I did not think I ought to neglect this diſcovery of the manuſcripts which he brought from the Eaſt into his native country. This is a new motive for our gratitude to the memory of a man, whoſe ſervices of this kind have been totally forgotten.

After the death of cardinal de Richlieu, the heirs of M. de Breves, in 1644, renewed their ſuits for the payment of the puncheons, matrices, and manuſcripts. An arrêt of council, (dated the laſt of March, 1645) which confirms their application as juſt, remits the parties to the parliament of Paris, and condemns Vitré in charges: a very extraordinary judgment, in an affair which did not directly concern Vitré, ſince he only acted for the king, and by his orders; and that he aſked leave to reſtore theſe puncheons to the heirs, (if they did not chooſe to pay for them) of whom the Dutch would have bought them. But, in 1647, the ſuit was brought before the council, with a prohibition from purſuing it in the parliament. In 1654, there was a new proceſs in the parliament, and another arret to bring the affair again

again before the council; and the manuſcripts depoſited in the library of the cardinal, were adjudged to the ducheſs d'Aiguillon, his niece and heireſs.

Vitré, after having ſhewed, by all the authentic pieces which he reports, how much he had ſuffered, inſtead of the recompence he deſerved, and how great expences he had been at, which had hindered him from working, concludes, by ſupplicating the council to relieve him from the trouble he had been involved in for twenty years, and deſires only to be told if he was to plead before the council, or elſewhere. He repreſented that *poſterity would be aſtoniſhed, that they had not conſidered ſufficiently of a thing which was ſo ſcarce and curious, that there does not exiſt in any part of the world ſo fine a collection.* He ſpeaks of all the Oriental characters; and prays *that the beautiful manuſcripts of M. de Breves might hold their place in his majeſty's library,* in caſe the council ſhall find, on examining the affair thoroughly, that the ducheſs d'Aiguillon ought to return them. This long chain of lawſuits, which bore hard upon Vitré, was in this ſtate in 1658; when the clergy thought themſelves obliged to aſſiſt him.

" The biſhop of Montpellier* has repreſented to " the company that, by the deliberations of the 4th " and 6th of October laſt, it was thought unrea- " ſonable that the ſieur Vitré, after the ſervice he had " rendered the church, by preventing the puncheons " and matrices of the Oriental languages from being

* Mem. du Clergé, anno 1636.

" ſold

" ſold to the Huguenots of England or Holland,
" who were in treaty for them, ſhould remain any
" longer in his preſent trouble. That it was neceſ-
" ſary to accompliſh his diſcharge, and provide for
" the ſafety of the ſaid types, the ſaid ſieur Vitré
" having cauſed them to be brought into the archives
" of the clergy, in expectation that the agents would
" apply to the members of the chamber of accounts,
" to requeſt them to ſecure, in their poſſeſſion, the
" puncheons of theſe languages, along with the
" Greek characters, which have been preſerved there
" with ſo much care, ſince the king, (Francis I.) had
" cauſed them to be depoſited there. On which the
" aſſembly, having acknowledged the advantage
" which the church might receive from them, and
" the evil which thoſe of the pretended religion
" might cauſe, if they had poſſeſſed themſelves of
" the ſaid puncheons and matrices, and deſirous to
" prevent in future their making uſe of, or drawing
" any advantage from them; alſo to provide for the
" reimburſement of the ſaid ſieur Vitré, as well for
" the purchaſe of the ſaid puncheons, as of the ex-
" pences he has been at on account thereof; and con-
" ſidering that they could not do any thing more
" worthy of the clergy, and more uſeful to the
" church, have ordered that the ſieur de Manivilette
" ſhall pay to the ſaid Vitré, the ſum of ſix thouſand
" livres, to reimburſe and indemnify him; provided
" that he ſhall depoſit the ſaid puncheons and ma-
" trices for the types of the Oriental languages in
" the

" the archives of the clergy, where they are to re-
" main until it ſhall be determined what place they
" can be depoſited in with moſt ſecurity; along
" with the Greek characters which have been de-
" poſited in the chamber of accounts from the time
" of Francis I. Provided, nevertheleſs, that the
" agents may lend the ſaid puncheons (taking proper
" receipts for the ſame) to printers, or others, who
" ſhall cauſe any works to be printed in thoſe lan-
" guages, to make uſe of, on condition of putting
" in the title page of the books which ſhall be ſo
" printed, theſe words, *Typis Cleri Gallicani.*"

The biſhop of Montpellier reported, " that he had
" found the ſieur Vitré at the chancellor's, whither
" he had been to return him thanks for having
" rejected an arret (which had been ſigned) on
" the ſubject of the puncheons and matrices, for
" the Arabic, Turkiſh, Syriac, Perſian, and Arme-
" nian characters, which the ſaid ſieur Vitré had pur-
" chaſed, together with an hundred and ten manu-
" ſcripts in the languages of theſe people, by order of
" the king, in writing, at the ſale of the ſieur de Breves;
" although the chancellor had declared ſeveral times,
" in public council, that it was reaſonable to diſ-
" charge the ſieur Vitré, and that he would pay for
" the ſaid puncheons and matrices for the uſe of the
" public, on putting into his hands the manuſcripts
" which had been depoſited in the library of the late
" cardinal de Richlieu, alſo by the command of the
" king; and that the ſaid chancellor had, in his pre-
" ſence, directed the ſaid ſieur Vitré to viſit the

" ducheſs d'Aiguillon, on his behalf, to demand " from her the ſaid manuſcripts; that he would ſup- " ply the money to pay for the whole, and preſent " the puncheons and matrices to the king*.

" That this inſtance of the chancellor's generoſity " merited from this aſſembly a particular acknow- " ledgment; ſince theſe characters were ſo ſingular, " that it was impoſſible to make the like quantity " now; and that if the heretics had obtained poſ- " ſeſſion of them, as it muſt be confeſſed they would " have done, but for the vigilance and zeal of the ſaid " ſieur Vitré, and the care he had taken to prevent " it, they might have printed complete editions of " the Bible with them, as they had already begun to " do in the time of the patriarch Cyril; that they " would alſo have cauſed other heretical books to be " printed, to diſtribute in the Eaſt, to hurt and cor- " rupt the Chriſtians of the Greek church, and the " poor Turks, Arabians, and Perſians, who ſhould " be converted to Chriſtianity by the care of thoſe " miſſionaries, who repair to that country from all

* In the catalogue of the king's library, Vol. I. p. 27. it is ſaid, that Lewis XIV. had in fact cauſed more than one hundred and ten beautiful Syriac, Arabic, Turkiſh, and Perſian manuſcripts, to be purchaſed of the heirs of M. de Breves. That Anthony Vitré has been charged with that commiſſion; became purchaſer of the ſaid books, as well as the Syriac, Arabic, and Perſian characters, with the matrices all ſtruck, which the ſaid M. de Breves had cauſed to be made in the Levant. " But we know (they add) that theſe manu- ſcripts were tranſported into the library of cardinal de Richlieu, as was alſo the public library of Rochelle, after the capture of that city."

" parts

" parts of Europe, to endeavour at the converſion of " thoſe people.

" The ſaid ſeigneur de Montpellier has added, on " this ſubject, that he had ſeen a New Teſtament, " printed both in the literal and the vulgar Greek, " in two columns, quite corrupted and falſified, which " the heretics had cauſed to be printed, and had ſent " the whole impreſſion into the Eaſt, with an " expreſs prohibition to the printer, not to diſpoſe " of any in the Weſt. That from hence it was eaſy " to judge of the injury they might have done to the " church, if the ſaid ſieur Vitré had not prevented " this collection, which includes the characters of " all languages of the Eaſtern people, from falling " into their hands; whereas we can now print ortho- " dox books, as we had begun to do, by the advice " of cardinal de Richlieu, during the reign of Lewis " XIII. of glorious memory.

" On which the aſſembly has requeſted the ſaid " ſeigneur de Montpellier to return thanks to the " chancellor, to requeſt a continuance of his good " intentions, and to teſtify to him, that this aſſembly " think it would be difficult to render a greater ſer- " vice to the church.

" Many of their lordſhips having acquainted the " ſieur Vitré that they would be happy to view the " ſaid puncheons and matrices, of which M. de " Montpellier had ſpoken ſo advantageouſly, he " cauſed them to be brought, and placed on the " table; and this beautiful work being admired by " the whole aſſembly, it was unanimouſly reſolved,

" that it was neceſſary to take care they ſhould be
" depoſited in the chamber of accounts, to be pre-
" ſerved with the Greek puncheons of Garamont,
" which had been placed there from the time of
" Francis I. and as to the matrices, that they ſhould
" be put in the king's library; where the printers
" might have the uſe of them, when their buſineſs
" required, on giving their receipts for them; to
" prevent their being loſt, or conveyed to Geneva,
" or into England, as formerly a great part of the
" Greek matrices had been; to recover which, the
" clergy had given three thouſand livres. And with
" reſpect to the repreſentation of the ſieur Vitré, that
" it would not be in his power ever to recover the
" manuſcripts out of the hands of the ducheſs d'Ai-
" guillon, to deliver to the chancellor, which would
" prevent his receiving a diſcharge, if he was under
" the neceſſity of having them again, the aſſembly
" requeſted my lords of Toulouſe and Venice to
" join M. de Montpellier, to know her final deter-
" mination, before they provided for the diſcharge of
" the ſaid Vitré; it not being juſt that he ſhould re-
" main any longer in the trouble he had been for
" ſome time, after the ſervices he has rendered the
" church and the king, by virtue of his expreſs com-
" mands, both verbal and in writing, the latter of
" which has been inſpected by my lords the com-
" miſſaries."

Such were the difficulties which aroſe, in courſe of time, on the ſubject of the acquiſition of theſe characters, in defiance of the zeal and eagerneſs which the clergy

clergy ſhewed to preſerve them. The endeavours of Vitré, reſpecting the manuſcripts of M. de Breves, which had been depoſited in the library of the cardinal de Richlieu, were, as we have before ſeen, not attended with ſucceſs. As to the Arabic, Syriac, and Armenian puncheons, they were not placed in the chamber of accounts, as the puncheons of the Greek characters of Garamont had been, and as the clergy intended. Vitré, it is probable, continued to keep them till his death, which happened in 1674. They afterwards paſſed through the hands of M. Thevenot, of the king's library. But when Lewis XIV. in 1690, eſtabliſhed the royal printing-houſe of the Louvre on a new conſtitution, they thought proper to depoſit all the puncheons, with their matrices, there.

In 1691, meſſieurs Thevenot and Clement, keepers of the king's library, had orders given them to ſend to the royal printing-houſe, "the puncheons of the "Oriental letters, which were in the library." Theſe "puncheons have ſerved to frame the matrices "for the edition of Le Jay's Bible; and will be ne-"ceſſary for the edition of P. Thomaſſin's book, (the "Gloſſary) which the king has permitted to be "printed. Theſe are articles belonging to the "king's printing-houſe, to be placed with the others." The following year, 1692, all theſe puncheons, and their matrices, were carried to the royal printing-houſe, where they have ſince remained. We may eaſily conceive, that a lapſe of time, and the different hands through which they have paſſed, have cauſed confuſion among them.

Beſides theſe Arabic and Perſian characters, we ſee, by the *procès verbal* of the clergy, that there were alſo the puncheons of the other characters which Vitré had bought of the heirs of M. de Breves, that is to ſay, the Syriac and Armenian; theſe laſt, however, had been engraved by the king's order, but they have always ſince confuſed them with M. de Breves's, although they are no part of them. I know not whether M. le Jay cauſed the puncheons of the beautiful Hebrew, which we ſee in his Bible, to be engraved himſelf: I find no mention made of it; on the other hand, they had long printed Hebrew at Paris in fine characters, and Vitré might have ſome of his own of that ſort. As to the Samaritan puncheons and matrices, they were made by order of M. le Jay, for the impreſſion of his Bible, a work which drew on him much jealouſy. We learn from the ſon of M. le Jay, the fate of theſe puncheons*. "I had always "an intention," ſays he, "to preſent to the royal "library, the puncheons and matrices which were "uſed for printing my late father's Bible, as M. Cle-"ment, the preſent librarian, well knows, which I "did not then do, on account of M. Thevenot, his "predeceſſor's ill diſpoſition towards me, but which "I at laſt did, in the beginning of that year, upon "the ſolicitation of the ſaid M. Thevenot, whom "I then found in different ſentiments. I gave them "to him agreeable to the reſolution I had made con-"cerning them. I at firſt carried to the king's library "all I had of the Samaritan, which conſiſted of

* From a paper in the ſecretary's office of the king's library.

"thirty-

"thirty-four puncheons and thirty-three matrices. "I afterwards gave him, if I am not miſtaken, one "matrice of the above-mentioned language, which "had been miſlaid, with ſixty-one puncheons of the "Syriac, and ſixty-eight matrices of the ſame lan- "guage, finiſhed; thirty-five Syriac matrices caſt only; "ſeventeen Armenian matrices, finiſhed; twenty-nine "matrices of the ſame language caſt only, beſides "ſeven matrices for Armenian accents, finiſhed. I "lent him my alphabet of languages, printed by the "ſieur Vitré, and dedicated to my elder brother; alſo "the Teſtament of Mahomet, in Arabic, the charac- "ters of which Vitré remembered to have come from "my father. He promiſed to return me theſe two "books, but I could never obtain them, pretending "the confuſion in which the books were, on account "of the removing them out of the king's library. "This I declare is truth, and that I have never re- "ceived any thing from him, but promiſes of good "turns with the directors of the royal library, with- "out having heard any more from that time until "the preſent." Paris, September 15, 1692, ſigned Le Jay, ancient dean of Verelay.

From this account, we ſee that the puncheons which M. le Jay had cauſed to be engraved, were equally expoſed to difficulties before they arrived in a ſituation where they could be carefully preſerved, *i. e.* the king's library. Thus Vitré did not maliciouſly deſtroy them, as was reported. He poſſibly melted the types which had been uſed. I will go further; it does not appear that he had even cauſed the types to be melted, which

were fit for uſe, ſince, after his death, which happened in 1674, Peter le Petit printed, in 1679, a ſmall work* in Arabic, with the ſame types; and it is not unlikely but the puncheons and matrices, then depoſited in the king's library, might have been lent to him to caſt types from. Peter le Petit made uſe of thoſe of Vitré, which ſtill exiſted, and have been inſenſibly loſt, or melted down again; there are ſome of them even now remaining at the royal printing-houſe.

This letter of the abbé Le Jay requires, however, ſome reflections. He at firſt ſpeaks of thirty-four Samaritan puncheons, with their matrices, which he ſent to M. Thevenot at the king's library. Theſe puncheons and matrices have ſerved to caſt the Samaritan characters, with which theſe texts of the Polyglot Bible were printed; they are beautiful, and are the firſt and only ones of that ſort which have been made at Paris. In general this character is very ſcarce throughout Europe, becauſe the Samaritan is ſeldom printed there, having only the Pentateuch in that tongue. We are indebted for them to M. le Jay; but in doing him that juſtice, we regret that we have not yet been able to find them, although they muſt neceſſarily have been carried to the royal printing-houſe, at the time the others were depoſited there.

As to the Syriac and Armenian characters, which are mentioned in the letter, I have long been embarraſſed on theſe ſubjects. In the *procès verbal* of the clergy, it is ſaid, that Vitré purchaſed, by order

* Hiſtory of the Printing-houſe.

of

of the king, the Turkiſh, Arabic, Perſian, Syriac, and Armenian puncheons, which were the property of M. de Breves. Moreover, the Syriac and Armenian are found printed with the Arabic characters, on ſheets which had formerly ſerved for liſts; they have, therefore, met the ſame fate with the Arabic types, and I found them together in the royal printing-houſe, but in a much greater number than the letter mentions. That the Syriac was M. de Breves's, cannot be conteſted. With reſpect to the Armenian, M. le Jay ſent only the matrices; he had no puncheons; they belonged to Lewis XIII. It ſeems as if they had endeavoured to cauſe all that M. de Breves had done, in favour of Oriental printing, to be forgotten. Vitré, in the preface to the *Teſtament of Mahomet*, expreſſes himſelf obſcurely, and ſeems willing to flatter M. le Jay, when he ſays, "*Cum libertate eximia generoſi illius viri D.* le Jay, *typographicum jam habeam Arabicis, Samaritanis aliiſque id genus caracteribus elegantiſſimis inſtructum, &c.*" Nevertheleſs, in the Syriac Pſalter, printed at Paris, 1625, no mention is made of M. le Jay; beſides, as I have already ſaid, there are at the royal printing-houſe, a greater number of Syriac puncheons. Perhaps M. le Jay may have cauſed other puncheons to be engraved in the room of thoſe which were loſt or broken; otherwiſe they muſt have been another body of theſe characters which we have not found, or elſe they are ſome which he had borrowed long before, to ſtrike ſome matrices which might then be wanted. It is inconteſtible, that he cauſed puncheons to be engraved, and

to

to be ſtruck, for Samaritan characters that are not now to be found; he might equally have ſtruck ſome matrices for Armenian characters and Arabic accents; theſe repairs, and probably the caſting of all theſe Oriental characters, for the edition of the Bible, had afforded Vitré an opportunity to expreſs himſelf in the manner he has done, eſpecially when he was ſpeaking to a ſon, whoſe father he wiſhed to commend, and who really merited praiſes; but it is certain that M. le Jay did not cauſe the beautiful Arabic and Syriac characters of his Polyglot to be engraved: theſe belonged to M. de Breves.

Among the alphabets printed by Vitré, I ſaw a Rabinical character, which I was deſirous of finding in the royal printing-houſe: this, with the Samaritan, would have made the Oriental characters complete; but there is no mention made of this character, which doubtleſs belonged to Vitré, and made a part of his types. I do not know if they are ſtill exiſting at Paris, but they would be an acquiſition worthy of the royal printing-houſe. Foreigners have printed the Ethiopian and Coptic, but I do not believe there is a ſingle type of theſe languages in Paris.

The Hebrew character in the Polyglot of Le Jay is fine: we know that the Chaldean character is the ſame as the Hebrew. We have before ſeen, from Wolfius, that the French ſurpaſſed every other nation in that reſpect, as they have in all the other Oriental characters.

Printing*, in the Hebrew language, is much more

* Wolfius Bib. Rab. p. 941.

ancient

ancient than in Arabic, and was uſed ſoon after the invention of typography. They had begun to print in Hebrew, in 1475; but it was not until 1480, that the Jews of Soncino, a little town of the duchy of Milan, took up that art. The rabbies Joſhua and Moſes, ſons of rabbi Iſrael Nathan, of Soncino, printed ſeveral Hebrew books; other Jews, in ſeveral cities in Italy, followed their example. Bomberg was the firſt Chriſtian who printed Hebrew; and the city of Venice acquired a certain degree of celebrity in that art, by the multitude of works which were publiſhed there. Rabbi Gerſon carried this art to Conſtantinople; and there printed, in 1530, many Hebrew books. Other Jews alſo eſtabliſhed Hebrew printing-houſes in Theſſalonica, and in different cities of the Ottoman empire. It was on this occaſion that Bajazet II. in 1580, prohibited, as I have already mentioned, the printing of Arabic books, under pain of death*.

At Paris, William Poſtel is the firſt who printed in Hebrew; afterwards Robert Stephen, in 1550, diſtinguiſhed himſelf in this art by the beauty of his characters. We read, that Francis I. had contributed towards the engraving of theſe characters: but beſides that, Robert Stephen, in his *Alphabetum Hebraïcum*, publiſhed in 1550, ſays nothing of it, and does not

* The Jews, who lived among the Mahomedans, and who have written in the Arabic language, have ſometimes employed, for that purpoſe, the Hebrew characters. Pocock, in 1655, publiſhed at Oxford, a work of Maimonides, intitled, "*Porta Moſis*," which is in the Hebrew character, but the Arabic language.

call

call them *Characterii Regii*, as the Greek of Garamont's are called: they would, if they had been ſo, have been ſent with the latter to the chamber of accounts.

Since the eſtabliſhment of the royal printing-houſe, the king cauſed to be printed there, in 1697, the gloſſary of P. Thomaſſin; but I ſee by the liſts, that they had only ſome types, but no puncheons. It is cuſtomary, in this printing-houſe, to preſerve the puncheons and matrices of the characters which they uſe there. There is an engraver and workmen employed to make types. By this means the puncheons and matrices never go out of the printing-houſe, and indeed never ought. In 1721, as they could not find any puncheons or matrices there for the Hebrew, the duke of Orleans, the regent, ordered ſome to be made. The abbé Bignon was charged with theſe orders; and M. Fourmont, the elder, who was well verſed in the Oriental languages, ſuperintended the engraver, named Villeneuve. The beautiful Bible of Athias ſerved as a model, and they caſt four fonts of Hebrew; one large, one leſs, one ſtill leſs, and a fourth for the notes; which formed a numerous body of puncheons, with as many matrices; to which they added ten moulds. The whole was delivered, in 1729, to M. Aniſſon, according to a receipt which exiſts in the king's library. The matrices have been found in good condition; from whence I conclude, the puncheons ought alſo to have been depoſited there. The activity and zeal of M. Aniſſon, in his reſearches, give room to hope they will alſo be found. Theſe characters, which have never been uſed, were made

made to print ſome works of M. Fourmont's, on the Holy Scriptures. I have arranged all theſe matrices in the order they ſhould be, according to their four ſizes. If I here ſpeak of theſe loſſes, it is, that I would not conceal what our kings have done, at different times, for the advancement of letters; nor leave the learned in a perſuaſion, that the Oriental languages have been ſo much neglected by us, that we cannot print any thing of that kind. We ſee, by theſe details, that we have been very rich, and are ſo ſtill; and that government has always protected this kind of literature.

Let us return to M. de Breves's Oriental characters, which have occaſioned ſo much contention ſince his death. The typographic ſociety of Paris have not exerciſed the uſeful privilege they were endowed with, ſince the printing of the Polyglot: I mean, they have not printed any Oriental book; at leaſt, I do not know of any. It was not theſe who gave, in 1651, the *Chronicon Orientale* of Abraham Ekkellenſis, in which they uſed the Arabic characters for ſome words; but, from the manner in which the characters of M. de Breves are printed, we may conjecture they are thoſe which Poſtel cauſed to be engraved under Francis I. They ſeem to be uſed by chance, as it were, by a workman who was not able to make a proper uſe of them. In 1679, after the privilege of the typographic ſociety expired, Peter le Petit, the king's printer, publiſhed a ſmall volume, entirely Arabic, which contained the ſeven penitential pſalms, with prayers for every day of the month;

month; and he does not ſay it is "from the printing-houſe of the clergy of France," which the aſſembly of 1656 had directed ſhould be put on all books of that ſort. The characters are the ſame as M. de Breves's, which Vitré made uſe of: but they had not the ſame able workman to compoſe the Arabic; yet it is not badly printed; only we perceive ſome joining ſtrokes badly employed. Laſtly, I find theſe characters of M. de Breves in a work which has not appeared; the fate of which is ſufficiently ſingular, ſince part of it exiſts in public without being known. It contains the genealogical table of the eaſtern princes, printed only in Arabic. Theſe tables are diſperſed in different copies of the collection of voyages which Thevenot has publiſhed, in two volumes, folio, *Paris*, 1696, on the back, or reverſe of the geographical charts, which are in that work. It ſhould ſeem, that when the collection was printed, which did not appear till after the death of Thevenot, they having found in his library theſe geographical charts, in large ſheets, printed on one ſide only. Ignorant of the uſe he deſigned to make of them, they took them, by way of œconomy, to print on the back ſide the geographical charts for the collection; and as there did not ſeem to be any thing requiring theſe genealogies, they deemed them uſeleſs; yet there is, in Thevenot's collection, an abridgment of the Oriental Hiſtory of Mirkhond, a Perſian author; and perhaps he had an intention to add theſe genealogies to it. At preſent they are diſperſed in different copies of the collection, but I am not certain if they are compleat. In my copy of Thevenot, I ſee

an

an appendix concerning the Seljuc princes; of whom, in fact, Mirkhond ſpeaks in the extract Thevenot has made from him. This is all I can ſay of this work; which would have been uſeful, had it not been for this imprudent piece of œconomy.

Oriental typography was in a more flouriſhing ſtate among foreigners; which ſhews us, that the fears of the clergy, with reſpect to the editions of the Holy Scriptures, were ill-founded. Theſe editions were certainly leſs beautiful than thoſe which might have been printed with the characters of M. de Breves: but they always exiſted; and, at the ſame time, other works, uſeful to letters, have been printed with them.

Gollius, beſides his dictionary, which I mentioned before, in 1656, publiſhed, in quarto, a new edition of Erpenius's grammar; to which he added the Proverbs of Lockman, and other Arabic texts, with a tranſlation and notes, deſigned for the uſe of thoſe who wiſhed to ſtudy that language. In 1669, he publiſhed the Arabic texts, and a Latin tranſlation which he had made, of Alpherghani, or, as we call him, Alfragan, his treatiſe of aſtronomy; which he accompanied with learned notes relative to geography. This book, which is much ſought after, is become ſcarce.

In 1634, Gentius printed, at Amſterdam, the Perſian text of Guliſtan; a work of the poet Sadi, celebrated in Perſia. To this is alſo added a Latin tranſlation.

In England, where they equally diſtinguiſhed themſelves in Oriental literature, Weelock, in 1657,

1657, publiſhed, at London, the New Teſtament, in Perſian and Latin. In 1663, the learned Pocock printed, at Oxford, the Arabic texts, and Latin tranſlation, of Aboulfaradge's Univerſal Hiſtory, two volumes, quarto; the one for the original, the other for the tranſlation. He collected alſo different paſſages from Arabic authors, of which he formed a volume in quarto, in 1650, under the title of "*Specimen Hiſtoriæ Arabum.*" They have alſo printed in England the annals of Eutychius, patriarch of Alexandria, in Arabic and Latin; and, in 1661, Vanſleb publiſhed, at London, Ludolph's dictionary and grammar of the Ethiopian language. This was a new branch of Oriental literature, which might have been cultivated in France, if they had ſeconded the intentions of Lewis XIII. ſince this prince had ordered puncheons to be made in the Ethiopian characters. Afterwards they printed, in England, the Armenian hiſtory, by Moſes de Khorene, in Armenian and Latin. But let us abridge this detail, already too long, and which might be more extended. I leave this taſk to thoſe who wiſh to give a complete hiſtory of Oriental literature: what I have ſaid is ſufficient to form an idea; and my deſign was only to make known our own typography in this kind, and the ſtate of the royal printing-houſe, with reſpect to Oriental characters; but to make this eſſay more uſeful, I thought myſelf obliged to point out what has been done in that reſpect by foreign preſſes, becauſe a knowledge of ſuch books is eſſential to thoſe who apply themſelves to the ſtudy of theſe languages.

If,

If, after Italy, we have given the example to other nations of Europe in this kind of literature and typography, it muſt be confeſſed that the latter have continued to cultivate it longer than we have. It is not for want of a ſucceſſion of able perſons in the Oriental languages, but they then wanted encouragement. Vattier* (of whom I have often ſpoke) mentions a new tranſlation of the works of Avicena, from an Arabian copy, printed at Rome. "It is," ſays he, "quite ready, as it were, to appear. It is," adds he, "a work which good phyſicians have long deſired to "ſee, and what no perſon has hitherto either been able "or bold enough to give them." Vattier was a phyſician, and conſequently enabled to underſtand the text and the ſubject which is there treated of. This work, not having been printed, is loſt.

The learned of France did not neglect the ſtudy of the Oriental languages, but they appear to have preferred the giving tranſlations, which might enable every one to become acquainted with the Orientals, to the fatiguing occupations of editors of originals, which could be uſeful to a few only: perhaps they might alſo find difficulties in printing ſuch originals, either from the workmen, or for want of characters which were not then in the hands of printers. They had grammars, dictionaries, and many texts of authors, more or leſs difficult to underſtand, and which were conſequently within the reach of thoſe who either had juſt begun, or of thoſe who were more

* Preface to the tranſlation of the hiſtory of the Caliphs.

advanced in the ſtudy of theſe languages. Thus, in France, they applied themſelves to tranſlations; and as typography follows the ſtate of letters, they did not print any longer in Oriental characters, which muſt contribute, in ſome degree, to cauſe the characters of M. de Breves to be forgot.

M. de Herbelot, who, without having travelled in the Eaſt, had read a prodigious number of Arabic, Perſian, and Turkiſh manuſcripts, had made conſiderable extracts from them, out of which he formed his "Oriental Library," printed at Paris, in 1697, in one volume folio. He gives therein a knowledge of all that concerns the different Mahomedan nations in Aſia, Africa, and Spain; their hiſtory, fabulous traditions, religion, ſects, different governments, laws, cuſtoms, manners, ſciences, arts, and hiſtory of great men of all ſorts, and points out their beſt works. There had not been before a work on the Eaſtern affairs ſo extenſive and profound. M. de Herbelot died before the impreſſion was finiſhed, and it was M. Galand who continued the edition: he alſo was acquainted with the Oriental languages, and agrees that this work is ſuperior to all the Oriental books in Arabic, Perſian, or Turkiſh, which M. de Herbelot had read: in fact, it appears to us ſuperior to all that has been done of that kind, notwithſtanding the unfavourable judgment M. Petit de la Croix paſſes upon it. Is it from the remains of that prejudice which formerly prevailed againſt the Muſſelmans that this work did not meet in France the

the reception it merited? It was neglected, and foreigners, who firſt acknowledged its merit, carried away the greateſt part of the copies; ſo that, when we returned from our error, there were ſcarce any of them to be found, and thoſe very dear. They were able, in many places, to uſe Oriental characters; but printing in that kind, at Paris, was entirely loſt. In theſe latter years they have reprinted it both here and in Holland, but leſs correct than the firſt edition. M. de Herbelot alſo compiled a Turkiſh and Perſian dictionary, more extenſive than that of Meninſki, printed in Germany. This manuſcript work, in three volumes, folio, remained in his family, and we are ignorant if it is ſtill in exiſtence: in this manner we have loſt many uſeful works.

M. Petit de la Croix, who died in 1695, and who was the firſt French interpreter the king eſtabliſhed for the affairs and commerce of the Eaſt, (for before that, they only employed natives of the country) compiled a hiſtory of Genghis-khan from the Oriental writers. He had alſo made a dictionary, French and Turkiſh, and another Turkiſh and French, which have not appeared. And it was his ſon, who ſucceeded him in his poſts, that publiſhed the life of Genghis-khan, in 1710, and alſo tranſlated the hiſtory of Tamerlane, in four volumes, twelves, printed likewiſe at Paris. This was compoſed by Scherfedden, and is different from that tranſlated by Vattier from Arab Schah. The former contains only the praiſes of the conquerer; the latter is an eloquent ſatire. In this enumeration, I ought not to omit the abbé Re-

naudot, who has produced an hiſtory of the patriarchs of Alexandria, drawn from Oriental manuſcripts, and tranſlated the accounts of two Arabian voyages, beſides having written many other uſeful and eſteemed works.

The eſtabliſhment of national interpreters gave riſe to another inſtitution, for children bred up at Paris to be ſent into the Eaſt. In the infancy of this eſtabliſhment, the miniſter had required, that when they were arrived at Conſtantinople, where they were to make themſelves perfect in the languages, they ſhould ſend home various tranſlations of Oriental authors. This they did; but theſe tranſlations, which ought to have been printed, and contributed to our inſtruction in Oriental literature, ſtill remain in manuſcript in the king's library, known only to a few perſons: however, a uſeful collection may be formed of them.

We ſee by this expoſition, that ſince Lewis XIII. we have not neglected Oriental literature; we have tranſlated many Oriental books, and have ſurpaſſed other nations in that reſpect. Many of theſe tranſlations have been printed, others have remained in manuſcript; and ſome are loſt, for want of being made public; ſuch as the tranſlation of Avicena, by Vattier; that of the Alcoran, by M. Galand; and many others, which we are not acquainted with; yet they were curious to acquire new information about the Eaſtern people. Lewis XIV. had ſent thither ſome able men, to collect manuſcripts, and learned miſſionaries capable of fulfilling his intentions in that

that reſpect. This has introduced new branches of learning, hitherto unknown, and particularly Chineſe literature. The miſſionaries compiled many works, ſeveral of which have not been printed. It is to father de Mailla that we are indebted for the hiſtory of China, which is at laſt going to be publiſhed: it would be too long to cite here all the works of that kind. Moſt of the miſſionaries have endeavoured to render themſelves uſeful, but in general we have only publiſhed their relations; and there ſtill exiſts a great number of their works. The king's library contains grammars and dictionaries of different languages of India. There ſhould be many of them found at Rome; where, in 1632, they printed a grammar and dictionary in the Japaneſe language; in 1651, a Tonquineſe dictionary; in 1762, a Thibetine grammar; long before that, a dictionary of the ſame language; and ſince, many little pieces in the Indian languages; all initiatory books, and without which we could never arrive at the knowledge of the hiſtory, ſciences, and arts, of the Oriental people. What treaſures of hiſtory, geography, &c. are ſtill locked up in the library of the *Propaganda*, where they appear as if conſigned to oblivion, becauſe they print thoſe only which concern grammars and dictionaries. A catalogue that ſhould preſent all the works of the miſſionaries, printed or manuſcript, would form a curious collection, and be well adapted to give us more favourable ideas of the miſſions. The Danes have been convinced of the utility of theſe miſſions, and

have eſtabliſhed them in India, where they have ſettled a printing-houſe; by means of which they have publiſhed many works in the Malabar* language; but theſe books remain moſtly in that country, and are very ſcarce in Europe. We are, however, indebted to the Danes for a grammar of that language, and a collection of very curious memoirs. When in Europe, we began to apply ourſelves to the ſtudy of the Oriental languages; we commenced with ſuch kinds of works as were abſolutely neceſſary, although not very agreeable; when more inſtructed, we have tranſlated Oriental books.

The royal printing-houſe, to which Lewis XIV. had, in 1691, given a new form, and where the Oriental characters had been depoſited, which exiſted in Paris; I mean the puncheons and matrices of M. de Breves; for they might poſſibly at ſome time have found, in a printing-houſe, ſome characters, the remains of thoſe which had been caſt, which wear out and are deſtroyed by uſe. The royal printing-houſe, I ſay, was long employed with the magnificent collection of the Byzantine hiſtorians, in Greek and Latin, with notes; an immenſe work, directed by Lewis XIV. They did not then think of giving Arabic editions. Thus the public, and even the learned, who would have wiſhed for ſome paſſages in Arabic to be printed, inſenſibly forgot what became of theſe characters: the miniſters, however, never forgot them;

* The firſt volume appeared in 1648.

and

and I ſee that they gave orders, from time, to time to have them examined, and put into a condition for uſe. But their good intentions, and the different operations they have directed, being confined to the inferior department, have not been made public, and have contributed, by degrees, to cauſe the exiſtence of theſe characters to be unknown: it is therefore neceſſary to expatiate on the ſubject in this memoir, in order to ſhew that government has never loſt ſight of this valuable collection.

It appears, that in 1697, they made out a ſtatement of them, printed on twenty-one pages, in folio; if we may call it a ſtatement, being a collection of characters, placed by chance, without order, mixed one with another, and repeated there four times, or oftner, at a great diſtance, by which there appears double the number there really is. Even with this apparent abundance, the ſtatement does not preſent us with all the punches they then had, ſince I have found, of the large Arabic alone, a great number which we do not ſee there; yet there are ſome in that account which we have not; and in this it has been of ſome uſe to me. This ſtatement is now in the royal printing-houſe.

In courſe of time, the miniſters have often made mention of the Oriental characters in different orders, the originals of which are preſerved at the *Maiſon du Roi*. I have alſo found there two ſummary accounts of the number of all the puncheons of that ſort; the one dated the 14th of May, 1714, made out under

the direction of the abbé Bignon*; the other in 1725 by M. de Foncemagne†, which differs ſomething from the other; and it is thought there is an error in the firſt reſpecting the Armenian characters. In general theſe liſts have not been made out correctly: Vitré atteſts there were more than 2000 puncheons; I find at preſent 1920; but a great number of matrices muſt have been loſt, ſince they had all been ſtruck for printing different works publiſhed at Paris. At the time they were employed in conveying theſe inſtruments to the royal printing-houſe, a workman ſtole a quantity of matrices, the number of which we do not know, nor was the theft immediately diſcovered. It may be concluded that theſe have been ſold as old copper, as they did not form compleat ſets; otherwiſe theſe characters would probably have appeared ſince that time at ſome printing-houſes; and their form would eaſily have diſcovered them: as to the reſt, it is eaſy to remedy this loſs with the puncheons that remain.*

* There were then

Large Arabic,	329	Total, 1218 puncheons.	
Middling and ſmall ditto,	889		
Syriac,	143		
Armenian,	47	108	
In another box,	61		
Perſian,	444		

† Large Arabic, 329 } Total, 1265
Middling, 426 }
Small, 510
Matrices 560
Syriac 150
Matrices 61
Armenian, 46
Matrices corrected, 48
Perſian, 445

M. de

M. de la Croix, royal profeſſor of Arabic, who had travelled in the Eaſt, and died in 1713, appears to have been the moſt proper perſon to examine theſe characters; and he had been directed ſo to do before the time of taking the liſt, which I have mentioned in 1697; but not having any general ideas of typography, I perceive by his work that he did not ſufficiently reflect on the nature and courſe of the Arabic writing. He found the puncheons for ſeveral letters connected in a greater or leſſer number, and he concludes, that theſe joining or connecting ſtrokes ought to have place equally for all letters. He was not ſenſible that many of theſe combinations might even be contrary to the analogy of the language; and he did not conſider, that although we reckon twenty-eight letters in that language, there are properly but ſixteen characters, which are increaſed by means of points, made uſe of to diſtinguiſh them. From theſe falſe ideas, he has ſuppoſed, for every letter, the ſame connection and combinations; and hence preſented the moſt extravagant ſcheme that can be imagined. In order to compleat all theſe characters, M. de la Croix requires more than 3000 puncheons for a ſingle font of Arabic, of which there are three. The miniſter, after a like enquiry, neceſſarily conſidered theſe characters as an incomplete remnant which deſerved little attention; ſince to make them uſeful, would require the expending of a prodigious ſum: beſides, what an extent of room would they have occaſion for to arrange the letters in metal, which are commonly caſt in large quantities, and to place them under the hands

hands of the workman. The prodigious number of letters would exceed the number of words in the language.

This examination therefore was of no uſe, but to cauſe the puncheons which remained to be abandoned and neglected. Happily, however, the miniſters have not adopted M. de la Croix's plan; and in fact, without this multitude of characters, and even with thoſe which we now have, and a ſmall addition, we can print complete books. Let us here give a ſlight view of theſe characters.

Thoſe who, under the direction of M. de Breves, have attended to the compiling all theſe puncheons, after having made choice of the moſt beautiful manuſcripts, and examined the genius of the Arabic language, and their ſyſtem of writing, have had judgment to regulate the number of the combinations, by two proceſſes, abſolutely contrary in the three fonts: in the larger and middling ſize, they often ſuppreſs all the points of diſtinction from the type, which reduced the ſimple letters to about ſixteen; but theſe may be multiplied by points, caſt ſeparate, and which may be added, at pleaſure, to any letter. For example: They have made a ſingle type for ا, and three other types for . .. .·. The firſt added thus to a figure ا is N; ا is B; the two points ا is T; ا is I; the three points ا TS. Theſe ſame points applied alſo ſeparately to many other letters, conſiderably reduce the number of punches. The Arabic writing permits the points to be thus detached; but in the ſmall characters, where the lines are cloſer,

where

where it is difficult to add this intermediate line of points, they have placed on the ſame puncheon, formed of many letters, every point, of which each letter is ſuſceptible: and for the compoſition or printing of a word, they eraſe from the type the points which are uſeleſs in the word they mean to expreſs, as we take out the accent from é to make it an e only. This method of placing on the ſame ſmall figure all the points it is ſuſceptible of, reduced the puncheons to a very ſmall number, and by that, a ſingle one ſerves for many others.

M. de la Croix, who comprehended nothing of theſe puncheons with many points, thought they ought to ſuppreſs all theſe points; which is what they ſhould rather guard well againſt. I confeſs I was at firſt embarraſſed; but on an examination and a compariſon, which I made of them with the puncheons for the middling and large Arabic, that preſent the ſame letter, but without any points, and to which they are added at pleaſure, I found that thoſe charged with a multitude of points, which taken as they appear, do not form any word or ſyllable in the Arabic language, were only made with a view to eraſe ſuch part of the ſaid point from the metal as they choſe. Theſe types, thus cleared of certain points, are not ſpoiled; for they form either a word or a ſyllable, really exiſting in the language, and which may be uſed on a thouſand other occaſions. In the large and middling characters, there are ſome letters where the points are in the middle of the letter; to expreſs theſe, they engraved a puncheon on purpoſe. There is ſtill an operation

operation which I had ſome difficulty to diſcover: in the comparing the pſalter of M. de Breves with the puncheons, I ſaw two ſorts for the ſame letter; that is, a letter with a joining line, and one without. I ſuſpected that this ought to be only one and the ſame puncheon of which they thus varied the figure at the caſting of the letter, which the founder of the royal printing-houſe aſſured me might be executed. This proceſs, which they might formerly uſe, furniſhes a third part more letters, and of which the puncheons ſeemed defective. Although I do not here enter into a detail reſpecting the operation of founding, I thought myſelf obliged to ſay ſomething of a proceſs, which ſerves to increaſe the number of letters without a new puncheon.

It is thus they have ſought means, by a judicious œconomy, to reduce the punches to the loweſt number poſſible, ſtill preſerving the beauty and elegance of the writing. They have uſed much art in this work: they have made connecting ſtrokes, which, although they reſemble each other, may, with the ſame character form, by this means, an infinity of letters. In the large Arabic there are ſome, as the *Riaf*, for which they have made different puncheons; ſome for the letter complete, others for its different parts, in order to afford the workmen an opportunity to employ this letter, to give, under certain circumſtances, more elegance to his compoſition, imitating, in that reſpect, an able penman, who takes certain liberty in the ſhape of his letters. Thus a compoſitor, who, as in a foreign printing-houſe, is accuſtomed to put one character

character after another without any connection, would be ſtopped here at every ſtep, and could not be profited by all the advantages theſe characters offer, and with which they might vary a compoſition: they require much reflection in the work, and the compoſitor ought to be acquainted with the whole ſyſtem to make uſe of them; for the ſimple letters are not ſufficient, and we muſt join the compound to them. Theſe puncheons have been made by men who have examined every thing, and have known how to join the needful with the agreeable, plenty and abundance with œconomy; in this they differ from all the other printing-houſes of Europe, in which 120 or 130 puncheons are ſufficient: they alſo differ in the elegance of the ſhape, and in their reſemblance to the beautiful manuſcripts. Such is the opinion I have been able to form, without fear of being deceived; but the connoiſſeurs in the art of engraving will admire the ability of the artiſt who has executed them; the beautiful cutting of the letters; the ingenuity and delicacy of the ſtrokes in the ſmall works; and will look on them as a precious work, which muſt coſt ſo much the more, as the punches, for the moſt part, are formed of three, four, and five letters, and ſometimes even of ſix and ſeven; by which one puncheon coſts as much as many letters: happily, notwithſtanding, they have been ſo long abandoned, they are preſerved.

In 1720, or thereabout, Mr. Fourmont* the elder, whoſe diſciple and pupil I ſhall always glory to have

Catalogue of his works.

been,

been, had directions to inſpect what remained of the Oriental characters in the royal printing-houſe, and in the poſſeſſion of the widow Grandjean, engraver to this printing-houſe. He does not ſay any more; but I ſee by the ſtatement in the repoſitory of the king's palace, and in the king's library, that they had then the project in view of caſting a font of Arabic characters, in order to print ſome books. By one of theſe eſtimates, they fix the number of characters to be caſt; but it was thought to be made too extenſive. It ſeems, that all who have examined theſe characters, have paid no attention to œconomy, which has always fruſtrated the good intentions of the miniſters. This project has not taken place: they propoſed alſo to engrave about eleven puncheons, with their matrices; and in the ſtatement of Villeneuve, who engraved the Hebrew puncheons, we find ſome Arabic which he had actually made; but we may eaſily diſtinguiſh theſe punches from thoſe of M. de Breves, which are much more elegant. As they had not ſtudied the ſyſtem, they did not make them on the ſame plan; and they ſeem neither to belong to the large nor middling fonts. Thus government has always hitherto endeavoured to put theſe characters in a ſtate for uſe; but ſince that epocha, as the ſtudy of the Oriental language has been leſs cultivated, they have, in ſome degree, loſt ſight of them, and we owe their revival to the deſire his majeſty has had to make public the manuſcripts of his library, and to render them more uſeful.

Being

Being charged by the Baron de Breteuil to examine all theſe characters, and which had formerly been done by many very learned men, with little ſucceſs, I devoted myſelf entirely to this buſineſs. M. Aniſſon, (I always name him in this memoir, becauſe the firſt time I went to the printing-houſe, his father, M. du Perron, directed him to give me every neceſſary information): M. Aniſſon, I ſay, at firſt communicated to me the impreſſions; but that not ſatisfying me, he delivered all the puncheons, which I examined at leiſure. I ſtudied the compoſition of them, and the art made uſe of to ſimplify them. As the different fonts of theſe characters, and even the different languages, were mixed, I began by ſeparating them; afterwards I ranged the puncheons of different languages, and of every font, in the alphabetical order they ought to be. I took new impreſſions of every one of them; and in order to avoid all confuſion among ſuch perſons as did not underſtand thoſe characters, I wrapped up each puncheon, which I numbered, agreeable to the copy of the impreſſion I had made.

This impreſſion, which I have made for the royal printing-houſe, is at the ſame time an exact inventory of all the characters of that ſort belonging to the king. I afterwards did the ſame by the matrices, which I numbered conformably to the puncheon, remarking all thoſe which were deficient. After this ſtate was made, M. Aniſſon drew out a fair copy, by taking a ſecond impreſſion of the characters; in which it appears, on the firſt glance, what puncheons

cheons or matrices are deficient; this M. Perron ſigned and tranſmitted to the miniſter. I thought myſelf obliged to carry my attention further, in order to prevent theſe characters falling again into the oblivion from whence I had drawn them. Beſides this memorial, which comprizes the whole hiſtory of theſe characters, I drew up another, more circumſtantial, at the royal printing-houſe. It is a kind of logographic grammar, or method, proper to direct hereafter any compoſitor, who, knowing how to read Arabic, (which he may eaſily learn,) would wiſh to make uſe of theſe characters, formed as they are on a plan ſo very different from other printing, that at firſt ſight they would think them very defective, if they were not acquainted with the whole ſyſtem. By theſe different methods, which have employed me for a year, I hope they will avoid again being reduced to the ſituation they have been in for a century.

There are three fonts for the Arabic only: a large; a middling, called *naſkhi*; and a very ſmall one, which may ſerve for notes. The middling is that which is proper for printing the body of a work; as to the large, it is only fit for titles, becauſe it would take too much room in printing.

As the Perſians and Turks make uſe, in writing, of the Arabic letter only, except ſome points which they add to certain figures, this they have executed, in the engraving of theſe puncheons, and theſe three fonts ſerved equally for the printing of Turkiſh, Arabic, and Perſian; and thoſe who have publiſhed books in Turkiſh,

Turkiſh, or Perſian, have uſed characters of this ſort.

But beſides theſe three bodies of Arabic, M. de Breves cauſed a large quantity of puncheons to be made for a ſort of Arabic writing, called *taalic*. Theſe characters are on the ſame principle as the former; the Turks and Perſians have adopted them for judicial proceedings. It is a very looſe method of writing, in which a writer, following his fancy, may ſeparate, connect, and lengthen his letters at will, and finiſh them by large and long ſtrokes, which makes them very difficult to read. This ſort of writing is much eſteemed in the Eaſt, and is made uſe of in many manuſcripts. It is this, doubtleſs, which induced M. de Breves to have a body of theſe characters engraved, and which certainly is the only one in Europe; and I am ſure they have never made uſe of theſe puncheons; ſo that they are abſolutely new. Although I have read many manuſcripts of that kind, I confeſs I have ſometimes been ſtopped to determine the reaſon of certain ſyllables, or parts of words, thus detached, which I ſhould eaſily have read in a plain text, becauſe the ſenſe would have guided me. We may add alſo, that the diſtinguiſhing points of the letters are not marked, and we are often obliged to gueſs at them. I have alſo arranged this valuable and ſingular body of characters; but I think a compoſitor of a printing-houſe would meet with ſome difficulties in that reſpect. They have not adopted in theſe *taalic*, or Perſian characters, the plan they have followed in the Arabic; they have made pun-

cheons for the ſimple letters, which are all of the ſame bigneſs; to which they have added larger, for the end of words. They have alſo engraved parts of words, in very ſmall, and ſometimes imperceptible characters; to which they have added ſome ſtrokes much ſtronger, which make them imitate free writing the more.

I have equally ranged, in alphabetical order, the Syriac and Armenian characters; which are not ſo extenſive, becauſe they are not ſuſceptible of ſo many combinations, as the Arabic; but they have not neglected to make thoſe which were neceſſary in the Syriac. M. de la Croix, charged to examine all theſe characters, as I have before remraked, has made the ſame reflections and calculations as he had done for the Arabic; and, after his examination, he concludes, there ſtill remained 3448 puncheons to be made. This is abſurd, and ſufficient to make us loſe all hopes of being able to reſtore theſe characters, which would require expences equally uſeleſs as enormous, ſince, with 150 puncheons, they have printed many volumes.

The Oriental languages, the Hebrew, Samaritan, Chaldean, Syriac, and Arabic, require a method of printing different from that we uſe for our languages. At firſt they wrote in the former from right to left, and moſt commonly without vowels. In the Oriental languages, conſtructed with more regularity than the Weſtern, all the radical words are compoſed of three conſonants; the derivative words which ſpring from them, and the grammatical inflections, are regularly formed

formed by other conſonants, which are always the ſame for each part of ſpeech; ſo that thoſe who are inſtructed in the rules of grammar, eaſily ſubſtitute in reading, the vowel which belongs to each conſonant; from whence, commonly, they do not give themſelves the trouble of writing them. This method has exiſted always in the Eaſt; we ſee it practiſed in the moſt ancient Phœnician inſcriptions: it is even doubtful, if the Oriental people, Hebrews, Arabians, &c. had anciently any characters to expreſs vowels. We do not, in general, ſee any on the ancient Arabic inſcriptions, called *koufiques*; beſides, the diſtinguiſhing points of the letters are not marked thereon, which is yet more embarraſſing. In actual writing, the writers who want to expreſs vowels, ſome place them above, and ſome below the line of conſonants, which forms a middle line, and is what we practiſed in the printing of Oriental books. This increaſes the labour to the workmen, without procuring any advantage to thoſe who know the language, and is of uſe only to commentators. Thus, in general, the Oriental manuſcripts are without vowels. A like method would not agree with our language; wherein, if we omit a vowel, there is often no word remaining.

The Turks and Perſians, whoſe languages are conſtructed different from the Arabic, in adopting the Arabic letters, have alſo adopted their manner of writing without vowels. This is contrary to the genius of their languages, which have not thoſe regular principles to enable them to ſubſtitute them as eaſy

as the Arabic, and they are obliged to truſt much to memory and cuſtom.

As to the Armenians, whoſe characters we alſo have at the royal printing-houſe, the art of writing among them is not ancient; they attribute the invention of it to a perſon named Meſrob, who lived about the time of St. John Chryſoſtom. They adopt the ſame cuſtom of writing from left to right as the Weſtern people; and their vowels, which are a part of the alphabet, are ranged in the ſame line with the conſonants.

There remains for me to ſpeak of the numerals. Among all the Orientals, they make uſe of the letters of the alphabet: this cuſtom is very ancient. In courſe of time, the Arabians have borrowed of the Indians a figure; which, for that reaſon, is called the Indian figure. We call it the Arabian figure, becauſe we took it from the Arabians. It conſiſts of nine figures only, and a point, which we call our cypher; and with theſe figures, which are almoſt the ſame as ours, and in the uſe of which we purſue the ſame proceſs, they make all their calculations. Mr. Breves cauſed two ſets of them to be engraved: the large, of which only one puncheon remains; and the middling, of which we have the whole. In Sionita's grammar, printed with the characters of M. de Breves, we ſee two other different ſorts of numerals, the puncheons of which are loſt.

In general, it is difficult, if not impoſſible, to determine the number of puncheons which may be wanted for the three Arabic fonts; becauſe thoſe who

who have made them have adopted a plan, by means of which they have multiplied them conſiderably, by combining many letters on the ſame puncheon; but I am far from believing, that this combination has been carried much farther than appears by thoſe which now remain to us, or that the loſs is conſiderable. There has, however, exiſted ſome other puncheons; ſince, by the ſheet printed in 1697, I ſee ſome characters of which we do not find the puncheons; but this loſs may eaſily be repaired.

In this enumeration of Oriental characters, I ought not to forget the Chineſe. Under the reigns of Lewis XIV. and Lewis XV. they cauſed a prodigious number of Chineſe books to be brought from China; ſo that the king's library is, without contradiction, the richeſt in that kind of literature in Europe; and they ſtill continue to increaſe it with the fineſt editions that are printed at the emperor's palace. Theſe books form a numerous collection, which are placed among the manuſcripts, although they are all printed; for as the Chineſe know the uſe of printing, they do not uſe manuſcripts.

Under Lewis XIV. there arrived in France a Chineſe, named *Hoamgé*, who was ſecretary to the biſhop of Roſalie. The king deſired he might be fixed in the library, and that he ſhould compile a Chineſe dictionary; a language then unknown to all Europe. M. Fourmont, who completely underſtood the Oriental languages, and who had a particular genius for inveſtigating their grammatical principles, although the Chineſe had no connection with theſe

languages, was directed to guide M. Hoamge in the form* of the grammar and dictionary, and to inform himſelf in that language. The Orientals, in general, are but bad grammarians, obſcure and immethodical in the explanation of their principles. Thus M. Fourmont was obliged to correct the ideas of the Chineſe in that reſpect.

In 1716, this Chineſe died, and the regent directed M. Fourmont to examine his papers. M. Fourmont found therein the beginning of a dictionary, ſome dialogues, and models of letters, part of the tranſlation of a romance, and a ſort of vocabulary. He applied himſelf entirely to the ſtudy of this language; hoping, with theſe weak helps, to be able to underſtand it, and to procure the learned the knowledge of the books which we poſſeſs. This was the intention of the king, who wanted to introduce into France this new kind of literature. The celebrity of the Chineſe then ſtimulated the curioſity of all Europe. M. Fourmont underwent immenſe labour, which did not fail to draw on him the envy of many people; perhaps it ſhould be confeſſed he gave occaſion for it. Some people, who alone thought themſelves entitled to ſpeak of China, others, jealous of the glory

* The abbé Bignon, in a letter dated the 11th of February, 1725, ſays, "I had engaged the ſieurs Fréres and Fourmont to become his "ſcholars. The firſt has much more genius than the other; but, as "he has turned himſelf to other ſtudies, being but too much embroiled "with the affairs between the legitimate and illegitimate princes, and "the dukes and peers, he has not followed the Chineſe with the ſame "aſſiduity."

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he might acquire by this work, ſaw him with pain employed in this new enterprize. They ſubjected him to a thouſand embarraſſments with the miniſter, in order to ſtop him. He was obliged to anſwer an infinite number of memorials, more ſpecious than ſolid, preſented by perſons little informed in theſe matters. Among others, they made uſe of a miſſionary, named Guigue, who could ſpeak the Chineſe, and could not read it. The prudence and wiſdom of the duke d'Antin, in part, put a ſtop to theſe conteſts. "On the whole (he writes in 1732 to M. Fonce-"magne) I believe the ſhorteſt way is to let him "(M. Fourmont) print ſomething. *The public will* "*do us juſtice; or, perhaps, will juſtify him: for there* "*is certainly ſomething to be ſaid on what you are ac-* "*quainted with.*" In the midſt of ſo many difficulties, the king cauſed a prodigious number of Chineſe characters to be engraved, under the inſpection of M. Fourmont. As this is what moſt concerns the memorial, ſo I ſhall abridge all the other accounts of this literary quarrel; in which ſeveral perſons, otherwiſe eſteemed for their knowledge, manifeſted too much animoſity. They engraved more than eighty thouſand characters; which, after his death, were depoſited in the king's library, where they are preſerved. They have been uſed to print two works of M. Fourmont's; in one of which he gives an idea of the Chineſe language, the other is a Chineſe grammar. Notwithſtanding all that his enemies have been able to ſay, the two works he publiſhed are uſeful to thoſe who wiſh to ſtudy that language; and it muſt be confeſſed,

that his labours are the ſtamina of all the knowledge which we have ſince acquired reſpecting China. This was going a great way for a firſt ſtep, and it was unjuſt to require more. At the end of the grammar, we find a catalogue of the Chineſe books in the king's library again printed, with the titles in Chineſe characters, and the expoſition of the works a little more in detail. Father Fourreau, who at that time returned from China, wrote a ſevere criticiſm upon it, which remains in manuſcript. He found ſome miſtakes in them; yet, perhaps, he would have made many more, ſince he could not read the Chineſe. It is difficult to conceive why ſo many perſons, who were ignorant of the language, particularly of the Chineſe writing, ſhould ſo conſtantly have oppoſed the labours of M. Fourmont. I do not advance any thing here by chance, ſince I have been witneſs of it.

We ſhall doubtleſs be alarmed at the prodigious number of characters which were then engraved; but the nature of the Chineſe language requires it; it has not, nor is ſuſceptible of an alphabet, like other languages; every idea has its particular character or repreſentation. Thus theſe kind of hyeroglyphics cannot be reduced to firſt elements, to form characters thereof for printing; they would produce only a coarſe and unformed maſs, by no means reſembling the Chineſe characters.

All theſe characters, engraved by order of the king, are cut in wood, and very large; for it would be an expence too enormous to manufacture puncheons of ſteel,

ſteel, and afterwards to caſt a certain number of types in metal of every kind, as in our printing-houſes, where they make thouſands for every letter.

The Chineſe, whoſe genius is not very inventive in poliſhing their language, have confined themſelves in their writing, to rendering their characters more agreeable to the ſight, by expreſſing their various meanings without attending to the methods of ſimplifying them: they even ſeem to have taken a courſe diametrically oppoſite. By this means they have increaſed their characters incredibly, and to an extent which the memory is ſcarcely equal to; from whence it ariſes, that the learning theſe characters conſumes a great deal of time, and conſiderably impedes the progreſs of knowledge. The Chineſe formerly could not compoſe an alphabet; it is with difficulty they can conceive an idea of it: the nature of their language will not permit them to adopt it now. Whatever they have done reſpecting their characters, tends only to increaſe their difficulty: it is neceſſary therefore, in printing, to conform to their ſyſtem. They have drawn theſe characters, which have been engraved on the Chineſe dictionary, intitled, "*Pin tſe tſien*," which is by ſound or tones. Theſe characters are a little bigger than thoſe which are by keys, taken from the table of the ſame dictionary; ſo that we poſſeſs two fonts of characters, and this Chineſe dictionary comprizes all the characters we have. I did not make a particular ſtatement of them, to be added to that of the other Oriental characters, becauſe ſuch a buſineſs would have taken up as much time as the printing a

Chineſe

Chineſe dictionary. Theſe characters are of no uſe but for printing dictionaries, and they could not be employed in a work of even two ſheets, where the ſame word is often repeated in the ſame page. The Chineſe, who knew the uſe of printing, have experienced this difficulty, notwithſtanding all their induſtry, and have not been able to overcome it; that is, they do not print their books with diſtinct characters. We ſhould not flatter ourſelves with being able to go farther than they have in this reſpect; we muſt therefore confine ourſelves to imitating them, and engrave plates* as they do; they can produce editions, which, although printed by wood plates, can equal, by their neatneſs and exactneſs, our fineſt engravings: they have them of all kinds, in large characters, and very ſmall, which are equally beautiful. But among them, printing has not enabled them entirely to diſpenſe with writers and copyiſts. When they deſign to print a book, they cauſe the manuſcript to be copied, and this copy applied to the block of wood, as the Chineſe paper is very fine, the characters appear on the reverſe: theſe guide the engraver, and ſerve him for a model; ſo that the impreſſion depends on the beauty of the writer's copy, the engraver only following his ſtrokes.

Notwithſtanding the good intentions of the king for the advancement of letters; and notwithſtanding the miniſter's zeal in aſſiſting therein, we are not en-

* Many miſſionaries aſſure us, that for a kind of newſpaper, and other the like objects, where the ſame words are repeated, they have detached characters; but they do not uſe them in general for any book.

abled

abled to print continued texts, but by means of engraving, as the Chineſe do. On the other hand, it is eaſier and leſs expenſive to bring the characters from China, where you may purchaſe them at all prices; but it is not the ſame with reſpect to dictionaries. In China they are entirely Chineſe; and as thoſe we want ought to have the Latin by the ſide of it, our characters only can be made uſe of for that purpoſe; ſince, being detached, they may be arranged in columns, and the explanation placed by the ſide of the original, in what language we pleaſe: they ought therefore to be preſerved with the greateſt care for a like purpoſe, and the engraving theſe characters ſhould be conſidered as an eſſential ſervice rendered to letters.

The conteſt which engaged M. Fourmont ſo long, afforded Ruſſia an opportunity to anticipate us, not in the intention, but in the act, in this ſpecies of literature. In 1730, they printed, at Peterſburgh, a Chineſe grammar and vocabulary, by Bayer. The Chineſe characters, engraved on braſs, for this work only, and not proper to ſerve for any other, are on ſeparate blocks, with references to them; and it is very inconvenient to the reader not to find the character by the ſide of the word. Moreover, theſe characters are ſo diſtorted and disfigured, that it is very difficult to find them out: this renders the work almoſt uſeleſs; an inconvenience that does not attend the king's characters, which have all been drawn with the greateſt care from a real Chineſe dictionary, and which are conſequently, exactly of the ſame proportion, and made

made to print together. The ſtrokes often are copied very faithfully, and none of them have eſcaped the engraver.

Greek Characters of Francis I. called the King's Greek, engraved by Garamont.

After having made known all the different Oriental characters which belong to the king, and the uſe which has formerly, or may again be made of them, it ſeems to me neceſſary to ſpeak of the Greek characters of Francis I. which the ſieurs Etienne made uſe of. Theſe characters, which are engraved with ſo much elegance, that it would be difficult, even at preſent, to form any equally beautiful, ought not to be unknown, ſince they are ſtill in the royal printing-houſe. Thus an enquiry into what concerns them, coinciding with the views of the miniſter, who propoſes to himſelf to reſtore this printing-houſe to its ancient ſplendor, and to afford the learned the means of producing ſome magnificent Greek editions, I have applied myſelf to this new labour; and I have collected ſome ſcattered obſervations, which I had thrown into the preceding account, with an intention to unite and connect them with ſome other anecdotes which I had gathered either in the repoſitory belonging to the king's houſe, or in the ſecretary's office of the royal library; but I ought firſt to obſerve, that I have not performed the ſame operation in theſe as on the Oriental characters, becauſe M. Aniſſon, who has the care of them, is now putting them in order himſelf, and he has drawn out a ſtate like that for the Oriental

ental characters. M. de Perron has likewiſe ſigned this ſtate which has been tranſmitted to the miniſter. People will be much ſurprized with what I here ſay of theſe characters, which have for a long time been thought to be loſt; but I have ſeen them, and have, with M. Aniſſon, compared them with the printed characters of Robert Etienne. In a word, theſe are the original puncheons and matrices which that printer made uſe of; and the royal printing-houſe is ſtill in poſſeſſion of the beautiful Greek characters engraved by order of Francis I. This is what the libraries of France, and of all Europe, were ignorant of; it has every where been both believed and ſaid that they were loſt. The ſieur Didot, in a work printed in 1786, repeats, after all the learned, "Unfortu-
"nately they are loſt; but we may always judge of
"their beauty by the Greek publication of Robert
"Etienne."

We are now enabled to refute this general error on the ſtate of the characters of Francis I. The detail I am now about to give, will convince the moſt incredulous in that reſpect.

Francis I. it is well known, not only loved and protected letters and arts, but was alſo very learned himſelf; which occaſioned a foreign writer, Hubert Thomas, of Liége, who travelled in France, in 1535, to ſay, "I do not know I ever was at a table ſo
"learned as Francis the Firſt's was: the readings
"which they made, the matters which were treated
"of, the converſations held there, were ſo inſtructive,
"that even the moſt learned might be improved; the
"moſt

" moſt intelligent military man, as well as the " learned, might there profit. I dare affirm, if it is " permitted me to enter into particulars, that the " artiſt, the gardener, and the labourer, might ac- " quire additional knowledge from the king's diſ- " courſe." Belon, who lived about the ſame pe- riod, ſays, " His court appeared as a fine academy, " or ancient ſchool of philoſophy, in which the " theory and practice of every virtue were incul- " cated." The ſame author acquaints us, that this prince had ſent ſome learned men into the Eaſt, to collect Greek manuſcripts: he names, among others, Juſte Tenelle*.

Francis I. who equally loved the arts, " a much " greater admirer of grand deſigns than any other," ſays Belon again, would deliberately have cauſed a coloſſal Hercules to be caſt, and would actually have done it, if he had not been prevented by death: for the model has long remained at Paris; which was between fifty-two and fifty-three feet high. He col- lected artiſts, and had very able ones of every kind. He erected a monument, leſs gigantic, but more uſeful, which does not fail to record his name to poſterity throughout Europe. Theſe are the puncheons and matrices of thoſe beautiful Greek characters which he cauſed to be engraved by Garamont, the moſt able artiſt of his time; a work which is ſtill ad-

* He had collected, at Fontainbleau, a cabinet of antiquities, where there were two ſphinxes, which he had caſt in imitation of thoſe at Rome.

mired

mired by connoiſſeurs. This beautiful monument, buried in ſome degree under ruins for more than a century, again re-appears. This we owe to the protection his preſent majeſty grants to letters.

Under the reign of Francis I. they particularly applied themſelves to the ſtudy of the Greek tongue; but the typography of that language was in its infancy in France.

John Cheradam, in 1527, publiſhed ſome eſſays on the Greek grammar, under the title of, "*Joannis Cheradami Sagienſis introductio ſané quâm utiles Græcarum Muſarum adyta compendio ingredi cupientibus Pariſiis, 1527, in ædibus Ægidii Gormontii.*" The following year, 1528, Robert Etienne gave a Greek and a Hebrew alphabet. About the year 1538, William Poſtel publiſhed alſo, as I have before ſaid, a Greek and a Hebrew alphabet. The Greek, in theſe three works, is ſmall, thin, of a diſagreeable ſhape, and engraved by a workman of little ability in this way: it ſhews us only the infancy of the art. The affection Francis I. had for letters, determined him to cauſe three fonts of theſe characters to be engraved, the elegance and beauty of which aſtoniſh us. The celebrated Garamont, under the direction of the moſt learned men of the age, was employed in this work. Theſe beautiful characters appeared about twenty years after the alphabet of bad Greek, publiſhed by Robert Etienne. We are aſtoniſhed, in comparing the Greek of Cheradam and Robert Etienne, of 1526 and 1527, and that of Poſtel, in 1538, with the New Teſtament, in folio, of Robert Etienne,

and

and his ſmall New Teſtament, printed in 1549. The art, in theſe new characters, is carried to the higheſt degree of perfection. Robert Etienne made uſe of them again in 1550, to publiſh three Greek alphabets; " *Alphabetum Græcum regius trium generum Characteribus poſtremò excuſum, Lut. ex officinâ, Roberti Stephani*, 1550."

In the New Teſtament, in twelves, is the following eulogium of Francis I. " *O mirificam regis noſtri optimi et præſtantiſſimi principis liberalitatem. Minutiores etiam Characteres Græcos quis deſiderari ſenſerat ad libros quam vis magnas in anguſtum ſpatium comtrahendos exſculpi voluit, prioribus illis licit omnium pulcherimis elegantiâ pares.*" Thus it is to the liberality of Francis I. we are indebted, as well for two magnificent fonts of large Greek characters, as for a ſmaller font, which is not leſs beautiful than the other two.

Thoſe who engraved Greek characters formerly, under the direction of learned men, having applied themſelves to imitate the moſt beautiful manuſcripts, found ſome fine joining ſtrokes, and ſome abbreviations, which, being placed at certain diſtances, ſeem deſigned to attract the attention of the readers. This Garamont has done for the characters of Francis I. and this is ſeen in the beautiful editions of Etienne. In the latter times, our engravers and printers endeavoured to avoid theſe abbreviations, by printing all the letters, as being much eaſier for the reader. It is on this plan they have publiſhed in England a fine edition of Homer: but, it muſt be confeſſed, theſe

theſe characters appear thin, when at full length; and, as they have ſuppreſſed the abbreviations, all the lines, which are of equal length, ſeem without variety; our modern artiſts, notwithſtanding their efforts and pretenſions, not having yet equalled Garamont.

Francis I. perſuaded that a work ſo well executed ought not to be truſted in the hands of printers, cauſed all the puncheons of the three fonts to be depoſited in the chamber of accounts, in boxes ornamented with velvet. As to the matrices, which were often wanted to caſt new types, Robert Etienne had them in his cuſtody: and it appears that they remained afterwards in his family; ſince Paul Etienne, grandſon of Robert, and ſon of Henry Etienne, ſold them at Geneva, for one thouſand crowns.

Under the reign of Lewis XIII*. the clergy, who propoſed to undertake an edition of the Greek fathers, preſented a petition to that prince, and requeſted that the Greek matrices might be repurchaſed, and brought to the univerſity of Paris. "*For which purpoſe* (ſay the agents of the clergy, "in this petition) *ſome ſtrangers, a ſhort time ſince,* "*purchaſed, of Paul Etienne, for the price and ſum of* "*three thouſand livres, the Greek matrices that the late* "*king, Francis I. had cauſed to be engraved, for an* "*ornament to his univerſities, and for the benefit of* "*letters, at ſo large an expence, &c.*" The king, in conſequence, iſſued an arret of the 27th of May, 1619, reported in the acts of the clergy, wherein he

* Chevalier origine de l'imprimerie.

directs that they ſhall pay, out of his privy purſe, the ſum of three thouſand livres, to redeem them. This was executed: the matrices were brought back to France, and put into the hands of the director of the royal printing-houſe, where they remained until 1691.

The puncheons were always locked up at the chamber of accounts; and they remained there in 1683, at the time Sebaſtien Mabre Cramoiſy bore the title of director of the royal printing-houſe. They had, at that time, thoughts of removing them. It is happy that the admiſſion to ſuch a ſtore is difficult, which has preſerved to us theſe fine puncheons; but it is yet more fortunate, that they were removed in 1683; a long time before the fire which deſtroyed the ſtore-room where they had been. To remove theſe puncheons, letters patent, couched in theſe terms, were neceſſary.

" Lewis, &c. to our beloved and faithful, the " perſons holding our chamber of accounts, at Paris: " health. Having been informed that there is in the " regiſter of our chamber, a trunk filled with pun- " cheons and matrices of Greek and other letters, " depoſited in the ſaid regiſter a long time ſince, " which may there receive injury; and that they may " ſerve in our printing-houſe to caſt types; being " willing that they ſhould be placed in the hands of our " beloved Sebaſtien Mabre Cramoiſy, director of our " ſaid printing-houſe; and, for that purpoſe, that they " ſhall be taken from our ſaid chamber. For theſe " reaſons, we order and direct you to cauſe the ſaid

" puncheons

" puncheons and matrices to be immediately deli-
" vered into the hands of the ſaid Cramoiſy, the
" receipt of which he ſhall acknowledge at the
" bottom of the proceſs which you ſhall cauſe to
" be iſſued; to be by him preſerved in our ſaid
" printing-houſe: for ſuch is our pleaſure. Given at
" Verſailles, the 15th day of the month of December,
" in the year of grace 1683, and the fortieth of our
" reign. Signed LEWIS;" and under, " By the
" king, COLBERT."

They required alſo, three *lettres de cachet*; one for the company, another for the firſt preſident, and a third for the advocate and ſolicitor general. It ſeems that M. de Louvois was then ignorant whoſe trunk this was; ſince, by a letter of the 19th of December, 1683, he aſks how this trunk has been brought to the chamber: " *How the chamber is charged*
" *with it, by virtue of what order, and the copy of that*
" *order, if it can be had.*" The trunk in queſtion contained eight packets of puncheons, in Greek letters (there is no mention of any matrices). After all the neceſſary formalities had been complied with, this trunk was delivered. In fact, we find theſe characters in different printed ſtatements, of puncheons and matrices for Greek characters, of the royal printing-houſe, which belong to the king, furniſhed by the widow of Sebaſtien Mabre Cramoiſy, the 9th of Auguſt, 1690.

The firſt leaf preſents the great primer, amounting to 82 puncheons, and 497 matrices. There are

ſome puncheons broke, and they have marked with a P the matrices which have their puncheons.

The ſecond leaf, large Roman, contains 447 puncheons.

The third, the firſt aſſortment of large Roman, contains 614 puncheons.

The fourth, the ſecond aſſortment of large Roman, contains 537 matrices.

The fifth, a firſt aſſortment of Cicero, contains 481 matrices; a ſecond aſſortment, imperfect, and 350 matrices unſorted.

All theſe different printed ſtates and copies, dated the 29th of January, 1691, are ſigned JOHN ANISSON.

In a general inventory of the royal printing-houſe, and of all its moveables and utenſils, works, engraved plates, &c. of the 8th of February, 1691, ſigned Muguet and Coignard, we again find the ſame detail of Greek puncheons and matrices*.

Before the royal printing-houſe was put under the direction of M. John Aniſſon, they thought of repairing what was defective in the Greek characters. I found an agreement, dated the 7th of February, 1692, ſigned by M. de Pontchartrain, and by the ſieur Grandjean, an engraver of printing characters; by which the latter engages to make 156 puncheons of Greek characters, of the large Roman ſize; alſo to ſtrike two matrices for each, in fine copper, with a

* I only find there a ſmall aſſortment of Hebrew, with its points, making a body of St. Auguſta, but in types only.

fleur

fleur de lys marked thereon, as well as on the punchеons. One of theſe matrices to be finiſhed agreeable to the firſt aſſortment of matrices of the ſaid large Roman Greek characters, and the other for the ſecond aſſortment of the ſame character. By this we ſee that theſe characters, in being transferred to the royal printing-houſe, have not been neglected. They propoſed to make many other fonts of Greek characters, as we ſee by a memoir which the ſieur Grandjean gives an account of.

The beauty and elegance of the characters of Francis I. which they commonly call in the printing-houſe the *King's Greek*, were ſo well known to the learned of Europe, that, in 1700, the univerſity of Cambridge deſired to have ſome particular fonts of them. The truſtees of the new printing-houſe at Cambridge, addreſſed themſelves to M. Clement, keeper of the king's library, and requeſted a certain quantity of the Greek characters, offering to acknowledge the favour in a preface to the firſt book they ſhould print, and to pay the value of them in books. They add, alſo, that they were not poſſeſſed of the ſecret of making a ſhining ink; that this art was in poſſeſſion of a ſociety, from whom the univerſity bought it: but they promiſe to regulate it in ſuch a manner, that the royal printing-houſe may be provided with ſuch a quantity as they choſe, on the ſame condition as the univerſity purchaſe it.

M. Clement anſwered this letter, "That the "univerſity of Cambridge would find in France "every good diſpoſition it could deſire, towards a

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" friendly correſpondence with the royal printing-
" houſe; in order to labour in concert, and to give reci-
" procally all the neceſſary helps to the advancement
" of learning. That they would willingly lend them
" all the fonts, entire and complete, of the cha-
" racters of the King's Greek; but on condition
" they ſhould oblige themſelves to mark their ac-
" knowledgments, not only in a preface, but alſo on
" the title page of every work for which theſe cha-
" racters ſhould be employed.

" It is then eſpecially deſired, that the univerſity
" of Cambridge ſhall promiſe, that in every work
" which they ſhall print in their printing-houſe with
" the Greek characters they ſhall receive from France,
" they ſhall put at the bottom of the title page,
" after theſe words, *Typis Academicis*, ſome other
" words, which ſignify that theſe Greek characters
" have been borrowed from the royal printing-houſe
" at Paris. *Characteribus Græcis e typographeio regio*
" *Parienſi.* As ſoon as they ſhall have agreed to this firſt
" condition, the others ſhall be no impediment; and
" it will be eaſy to fix the price of the quantity they
" wiſh to have of them, and the manner in which
" payment ſhall be made; ſince they are deſirous,
" above all things, that this money ſhall be em-
" ployed to purchaſe books to enrich the king's
" library*."

By Mr. Prior's anſwer, dated April the 18th, we find that the earl of Mancheſter had addreſſed himſelf

* Letter to Mr. Prior.

to

to the abbé de Louvois, to whom he had tranſmitted a letter of the duke of Somerſet, chancellor of the univerſity of Cambridge, to ſolicit this affair. But the abbé Bignon, then charged with the direction of the academy, requiring, with reaſon, the condition that they ſhould put at the bottom of the title page, "*Characteribus Græcis e typographeio regio Parienſi*;" and not being willing to recede in this point, it was abandoned. By this we ſee how much theſe fine characters were prized, and that no engraving of this kind, ſince Francis I. has been able to exceed it.

It appears, that when theſe characters were removed from the chamber of accounts, they were ignorant that they were thoſe of Francis I. otherwiſe it would have been mentioned in the patent above cited. They were content with calling them puncheons of Greek letters, *depoſited long ſince*; and the miniſter requiring to be informed of the removal of this depoſit, and of many other circumſtances, I am inclined to think they removed them without thinking they were Francis the Firſt's. Thus they continued in public to believe, that theſe letters of the king's were loſt; more eſpecially, as they were not informed of the removal the chamber had made. I am led to theſe reflections by a letter of M. de Foncemagne, dated September 30, 1727; where this learned man expreſſes himſelf in terms, which are poſitive, but contrary to all I have juſt ſaid. "The ſecretary of the chamber of accounts, which "the firſt preſident had charged to treat with M. "Aniſſon, for the reſtitution of the Greek puncheons

" that I have diſcovered in the chamber, has been " ſome time in the country. This affair is not " finiſhed; and the delay, which I had not foreſeen, " has prevented my anſwering M. Grandjean." M. Foncemagne, who knew Francis I. had depoſited theſe Greek puncheons in the chamber of accounts, would have ſpoken of this depoſit, and have ſolicited the reſtitution of it; they would have ſought for them, becauſe they might then have forgot what had paſſed forty years before.

On this demand of M. Foncemagne, I have only found this ſingle letter. There ſhould then have been letters patent, and different formalities, of which I do not perceive any trace. Thus this ſtep of M. Foncemagne, which proves his zeal, had no conſequences; but what is deciſive, is that the Greek puncheons delivered to Cramoiſy by the chamber, are exactly the ſame as thoſe which Robert Etienne made uſe of in his alphabet, and which he calls *Characteres Regii.* M. Aniſſon and I are witneſſes that every particular puncheon has been examined with the characters printed by R. Etienne. Beſides, theſe ſame characters delivered to Cramoiſy, are printed on ſheets of liſts, which the widow Cramoiſy ſent to M. John Aniſſon, after the latter had taken poſſeſſion of the royal printing-houſe. Thus the Greek characters of Francis I. depoſited in the chamber of accounts, in 1683, delivered to Cramoiſy, returned to M. Aniſſon in 1691, have remained ſince that time in the royal printing-houſe. Hence the ſearch made by M. de Foncemagne, in 1727, was on a conjecture that the

the characters of Francis I. were in the chamber, and this ſearch had no conſequence, ſince they had been removed a long time before.

Notwithſtanding all I have juſt ſaid, as the learned, and the public at large, have not been acquainted with what has paſſed between the miniſter and the chamber of accounts; as they are yet ignorant of what has paſſed between the miniſter and the director of the royal printing-houſe, they have always perſiſted in believing and writing, that the puncheons and matrices of the Greek characters of Francis I. were loſt; for we muſt not ſpeak of the caſt types, which are deſtroyed by long uſe; they are not in exiſtence. We can then no longer doubt but all theſe puncheons are in this printing-houſe: and the baron de Breteuil, who gives ſuch ſingular protection to literature, is deſirous it may be known that they are ſo; but, it muſt be confeſſed, that, like the Oriental puncheons, they have been long in a ſtate of oblivion and direliction.

To theſe great literary labours, undertaken in the reign of Lewis XIV. labours which, by the number of volumes, and the extent of knowledge which they require, at preſent aſtoniſh us; a taſte has ſucceeded quite oppoſite; that is to ſay, a diſlike for erudition and for deep reſearches. By degrees, we have leſs applied ourſelves to the ſtudy of the languages; even the Greek has been neglected, and trifling works have been preferred; otherwiſe many printers had been furniſhed with Greek characters. From hence the royal printing-houſe was no longer employed in this kind of typography. Theſe beautiful characters being

being thrown aſide, were not ſeen, and the changes which naturally happen in a long courſe of years, cauſed them to be forgotten: they would yet have remained ſo, but for the eſtabliſhment the king has juſt made, of a committee to examine the manuſcripts in his library, and but for the zeal of the baron de Breteuil, who, to fulfil the utmoſt intention of his majeſty, exerts himſelf to renew among us a taſte for erudition, and the ſtudy of the learned languages.

To theſe three fonts of Greek characters of Francis I. let us join the four fonts of Arabic, Turkiſh, and Perſian, and a font of Syriac characters made by M. de Breves, and bought by Lewis XIII. a font of Armenian, made by order of this prince; another font of Greek characters, made by order of Lewis XIV. four fonts of Hebrew characters, and a number of Chineſe characters, engraved by order of Lewis XV. Such are the helps offered to the learned, who ſhall propoſe uſeful works.

Catalogue of the MANUSCRIPTS *brought from the Eaſt by M. de Breves, purchaſed after his Death by the King; depoſited in the Library of Cardinal Richlieu, and marked with his Arms. On the firſt Leaf is the Cypher of the Commiſſary Boiſſi, who cauſed them to be ſeized and carried from Sionita's. Theſe Manuſcripts, which in Courſe of Time have been recovered, remain in the Sorbonne.*

1. THE great *Kamous*, or Treaſure of the Arabian Language, 2 vols. in Arabic.
2. Expoſition of different Sentences; in Arabic.

3. The

3. The Hiſtory of the Ottomans, 2 vols. in Turkiſh.
4. The Lives of the Saints; in Turkiſh.
5. Introduction to Juriſprudence; in Turkiſh.
6. A Treatiſe on the Manners, Method of Living, and Cloathing of the Turks; with Reaſons for the Ceremonies of their Religion; in Turkiſh.
7. Civil Law of the Turks; in Arabic.
8. Inſtruction for the Judges; in Arabic.
9. A Hiſtory of the Rebellions that have been raiſed againſt Mahomet; in Turkiſh.
10. The Grammar named *Kafia*, with a very ample Expoſition; in Arabic.
11. The Hiſtory of Haſſan and Hoſſain, two great Captains, both Nephews to Mahomet; in Turkiſh.
12. A Treatiſe on the Manner of making Contracts; in Arabic.
13. A Treatiſe on Juriſprudence; in Arabic.
14. Inſtructions to Kings, Princes, and all Sorts of Perſons inveſted with Authority; in Turkiſh.
15. Inſtitutes of the Law of the Turks, and other Nations ſubject to the Grand Signior; in Arabic.
16. The Life, Acts, and Deeds of Mahomet; in Turkiſh.
17. The Life of Alexander the Great; ditto.
18. The Works of Goleſtan, a celebrated Perſian Poet; in Perſian.
19. The Introduction to the Civil Law; in Arabic.
20. Inſtruction to Princes; in Turkiſh.

21. The

21. The Hiſtory of Tamerlane; in Perſian.
22. The Works of Almotannabi, a very celebrated Arabian Poet; in Arabic.
23. A Treatiſe on Marriage, and of the Diviſion of Inheritances between married Perſons.
24. A Commentary on ſome Chapters of the Alcoran; in Perſian.
25. A Book of Law; in Turkiſh.
26. The Works of Goleſtan; in Perſian.
27. The Manner of interpreting Dreams; in Turkiſh.
28. Conteſt between Laws and Religion; in Turkiſh.
29. The Fables of Caraman; in Turkiſh.
30. Of the Dignity of Man; in Turkiſh.
31. Elements of the Turkiſh Law; in Turkiſh.
32. A Treatiſe on the Law of the Turks; in Arabic.
33. A Treatiſe on War, by Caraman; in Turkiſh.
34. The Exerciſes of a devout Soul for every Day in the Week; in Turkiſh.
35. The Hiſtory of Hali; in Turkiſh.
36. Many Fables; in Turkiſh.
37. Another Collection of Fables; in Turkiſh.
38. The Hiſtory of the Kings of Perſia; in Turkiſh.
39. One Thouſand Fables for One Thouſand Nights Entertainment; in Turkiſh.
40. An Arabian Grammar, with the Expoſition, in 2 vols. in Arabic.
41. A Perſian and Turkiſh Dictionary.
42. The Amours of a King of Perſia; in Tartaric.
43. A Collection of Poetry; in Arabic and Turkiſh.

44. The

44. The Lives and Virtues of the great Turkiſh Poets; in Turkiſh.
45. A Treatiſe on Good Fortune; in Arabic.
46. The Turkiſh Secretary, or the Manner of writing Letters well; adapted to every Condition; in Turkiſh.
47. The Civil Law; in Arabic.
48. The Lives of ſome Turkiſh Saints; in Turkiſh.
49. A Commentary on the Invocation to God, which is at the beginning of the Alcoran; in Turkiſh.
50. A Commentary on the Expoſition of ſome Laws; in Turkiſh.
51. A Diſcourſe on Morality and Piety; in Turkiſh.
52. An Expoſition of ſome Paſſages in the Alcoran; in Turkiſh.
53. Facetious Tales; in Turkiſh.
54. A Collection of different Poems; in Turkiſh.
55. A Commentary on ſome of the Municipal Laws of the Turks; in Arabic.
56. A Collection of Letters miſſive; in Turkiſh.
57. An Abridgment of the Civil Laws; in Arabic.
58. Life, Deeds, and Actions of Mahomet, in Turkiſh.
59. Iſmaël on the Civil Law; in Arabic.
60. Another Book on the Civil Law; in Turkiſh.
61. A Book of Poetry, called the Ten Birds; in Turkiſh.
62. A little Dictionary in Verſe, for the Uſe of Children; in Perſian and Turkiſh.
63. The Wonders of the World; in Turkiſh.
64. A Grammar of Kafia, printed.

65. A Book

65. A Book of Poetry; in Perſian.
66. A Treatiſe on Eloquence; in Arabic.
67. The Canon of the Empire of the Turks; in Turkiſh.
68. The Rich and Poor; in Turkiſh.
69. A Collection of different Poems; in Turkiſh.
70. A moral Diſcourſe; in Perſian.
71. Directions for a devout Life; in Turkiſh.
72. Inſtructions in the Turkiſh Religion; in Turkiſh.
73. Moral Philoſophy; in Turkiſh.
74. Turkiſh Poets.
75. Of the Birth of Mahomet.
76. Riſe and Progreſs of the Ottoman Empire; in Turkiſh.
77. A Hiſtory of many Kings and Princes; in Turkiſh.
78. Philoſophical and moral Diſcourſes; in Arabic.
79. Small Volume of Poetry; in Turkiſh.
80. Tenderneſs for Children; in Turkiſh.
81. A third Goleſtan; in Perſian.
82. Four particular Chapters of the Alcoran.
83. The Hiſtory of Joſeph and his Amours with the Wife of Putiphar; in Turkiſh.
84. A Treatiſe on the Law; in Arabic.
85. A fourth Goleſtan.
86. Of the Dignity of the Cities of Mecca, Medina, and Jeruſalem; in Turkiſh.
87. The Hiſtory of the principal Perſian Poets.
88. The Praiſes of the Juſt; in Perſian.
89. The Contempt of the Word; in Turkiſh.
90. A Collection of Poetry; in Turkiſh.

91. Points

91. Points of Religion, and Caſes of Conſcience; in Turkiſh.
92. Of good and bad Fortune; in Turkiſh.
93. A Dialogue; in Turkiſh.
94. A Book for Divination by the Alcoran, and to learn what will come to paſs; in Turkiſh.
95. Five ſmall Volumes of Prayers; in Turkiſh.
96. The Manner of gaining Pardons, by performing a Voyage to Mecca.
97. Five or ſix little Books, bound in Paper only.

ACCOUNTS

OF THE

MANUSCRIPTS

IN THE

KING'S LIBRARY.

THE

GOLDEN MEADOWS,

AND THE

MINES OF PRECIOUS STONES;

An univerſal Hiſtory, by ABOUL-HASSAN-ALY, *Son of* AL-KHAIR, *Son of* ALY, *Son of* ABDERRAHMAN, *Son of* ABDALLAH, *Son of* MASOUD-EL-HADHELI, *ſurnamed* MASOUDI; *a Writer of the Twelfth Century of the Chriſtian Æra.*

Arabian Manuſcripts, No. 598, in Quarto, of 274 Pages; No. 599, in Quarto, of 394 Pages; and No. 599, A. in Folio, of 984 Pages: all three on Oriental Paper.

By M. de GUIGNES.

ABOUL-HASSAN-ALY, commonly called *Maſoudi*, deſcended from one Maſoud-al-hadheli, who takes the title of Laheb-ar-raſoul, that is, "the companion of the ambaſſador of God;" for thus they call Mahomet. M. de Herbelot ſpeaks of this writer in his Oriental library, page 563.

Maſoudi, ſurnamed *Cothbeddin*, wrote about the 336th year of the Hegira, A. C. 947, under the khalifat of Mothilillah. According to M. de Herbelot, he died at Cairo, in Egypt, in the 346th year of the Hegira, ten years after having publiſhed his work. In the catalogue of the king's library*, the Mouroudge-ed-dhahab is erroneouſly placed among the treatiſes of geography; it belongs to general hiſtory. It is true the author makes ſome obſervations relative to geography; but they are only incidental, and deſigned to throw greater light on different parts of the hiſtory. This work is much eſteemed in the eaſt, whether on account of its antiquity, the author having lived in an age when the Arabians ſtill continued to cultivate many ſciences; or on account of the variety of the objects, or the extent of the inquiries contained in it. It is this, without doubt, which determined Maſoudi to give it the ſingular title which it bears; and, beſides, it is the cuſtom of the Orientals to give ſuch kinds of titles to their works.

* In the manuſcript 598, the titles of all the chapters have been left blank; the manuſcript 599 is intitled, "The Firſt Part of Mouroudge-ed-dhahab." It contains, the hiſtory of all the ancient people, except the Arabians. The ſecond contains the hiſtory of the ancient Arabians; and the third, the hiſtory of the Arabians after Mahomet. But this volume is defective. The manuſcript, No. 599 A. which contains the whole, has not theſe three diviſions; theſe three manuſcripts are on Oriental paper. In the catalogue of the king's library, this paper is deſcribed by the name of Bombycinus; becauſe they ſuppoſe it made either of cotton or ſilk, it is not very certain which; conſequently I have thought proper to adopt a more general name.

No. 598 and 599, which are in the king's library, are very imperfect manuſcripts: the firſt contains only the ancient hiſtory, but it wants a part of the preface: the ſecond contains the hiſtory of the ancient Arabs alſo; but it is leſs correctly copied, and in many places they have abridged the author's text. No. 599 A. which is badly deſcribed in the catalogue, where it is without the author's name, contains the whole work of Maſoudi; that is, beſides thoſe two parts which we have juſt pointed out, another, which contains the hiſtory of the khalifs from Mahomet to our author's time. It is one of the fineſt manuſcripts of the king's library, and although in a ſmall and very ſlender character, is very legible; not however free from many faults of the copyiſt, which embarraſs the reader. But what renders it valuable is, that it contains the work complete; yet what precedes the hiſtory of the khalifs has been conſiderably abridged, and it does not afford ſo many details as the other two manuſcripts: in all three the text differs.

In the preface the author renders an account of his deſign of giving a general hiſtory, from the commencement of the world to the year 334 of the Hegira, A. C. 945. He propoſes to ſpeak,

1. Of the creation of the world, and to give a hiſtory of mankind from Adam to Abraham.
2. Of the prophets and kings of Iſraël.
3. Of the ſpace of time between the Meſſiah and Mahomet.
4. Of the Indians, of their kings, and of the ſciences cultivated by theſe people.

5 and 6. Of the land, ſeas, rivers, mountains, and climates.

7. Of the Ethiopian ſea and its extent.

8. Of the opinions of the flux and reflux.

9. Of the ſea of Roum (the Mediterranean), and its extent.

10. Of the Propontis, and the ſtreight of Conſtantinople.

11. Of Bab-al-abouab (the Derbend), of the Dgiorgeen, and ſeas adjacent.

12. Of the Chineſe, their kings and cuſtoms.

13. Of the wonders that are in the ſea, and the countries which ſurround it.

14. Of the mountain of *Phath* (or Victory); of the people of Lan, of Razer, and thoſe of the throne of gold; of the Turks and other nations.

15. Of the Syrian kings.

16. Of the kings of Moſoul and Nineve.

17. Of the kings of Babel, or the Chaldeans, otherwiſe Nabartheans.

18. Of the kings of Perſia.

19. Of the kings of the *Nations*, or the Aſchghanians (the Arſacides).

20. Of the origin of the modern Perſians.

21. Of the kings of Perſia named Saſſanides.

22. Of the Greek kings and their origin.

23. Of the kings of Roum (the Romans).

24. Of the kings of Roum, Chriſtians, or of Conſtantinople.

25. Of

25. Of the kings of Roum, after Mahomedaniſm began until A. C. 943.
26. Of the kings of Egypt, of the Nile, and the marvels of that country.
27. Of the *Soudans*, or negroes, and of their different races.
28. Of the French and Spaniards.
29. Of the Sclavonians, of the country of Noukbard, or Noukirad (Nogorod).

[*Here the manuſcript* 598 *ends.*]

30. Of the Arabian kings of the tribe of Ad.
31. Of the Arabian kings of the tribe of Thamoud.
32. Of Mecca and its temple.
33. Of the earth and its countries, and the characters of the different people.
34. Of the opinion of the learned, with reſpect to the names of Yemen, Irac, Scham, and Hedgiaz.
35. Of the ancient kings of Yemen.
36. Of the kings of Hira, aborigines of Yemen.
37. Of the kings of Scham, or of Syria, alſo aborigines of Yemen.
38. Of the Arabs of the deſert, or Bedouins.
39. Of the religion of the ancient Arabs, and of their diſperſion into different places.
40, 41, 42, 43, 44. Continuation concerning the Arabs.
45. Of the lands of Saba and Mareb; of the diviſion of the country.
46. Of the years of the Arabs and Perſians; of their months; in what they differ from each other.

47. Of the Coptic and Syrian months.
48. Of the Syrian months, compared with thoſe of Roum; number of days in the year.
49. Of the Perſian months.
50. Of the year of the Arabs, and of their months.
51. Of the nights by which the Arabs reckon, and of the lunar year.
52. Of the courſe of the ſun and moon.
53. Of the elements, and of the power of the ſtars.
54. Of the moſt celebrated temples; of the Pyrea; of the idols of India; and of the worſhip of the ſtars.
55, 56, 57, 58, 59. Of the temples of the Greeks, the Romans, the Sclavonians, the Sabeans, and the Magi.

Here the manuſcript 599 ends, which contains all that we are going to point out. The manuſcript 599 A. alſo contains nearly the ſame articles, and beſides,

60. An univerſal chronicle, from the beginning of the world to Mahomet. The continuation includes the hiſtory of Mahomet, and the khalifs, his ſucceſſors, as well Omiades as Abaſſides, to the number of 42, to the khalifat of Mothi. The hiſtory of each khalif forms an article. The author has added to it a ſecond chronicle, from the beginning of the Hegira to his own time; that is, from the month Dgioumadi-el-aoual of the 336th year of the Hegira, A. C. 947, where he ſays, he has ended his work. This chronicle is followed

lowed by two chapters, one of which treats of the pilgrimage to Mecca from the commencement of Mahomedaniſm to his own time; in the other he gives the names of the principal pilgrims.

This is a vaſt plan, and gives a great idea of Maſoudi's inquiries; but we ought to obſerve, that if he really ſpeaks of all he announces, he often does it in a manner ſo conciſe, that he confines himſelf ſimply to relate ſome paſſages of five or ſix lines; and often, according to the taſte and credulity of the Orientals, he mixes many fables, unworthy of notice; if we take notice of ſome of them, it is only with a view to make known the characters of theſe writers.

In the manuſcript 599 A. Maſoudi neither points out in detail, as in the other two volumes, the different ſubjects he means to treat of, nor of the authors he has made uſe of, but paſſes immediately to the formation of the earth and the different ſeas. In this account, he begins with ſome fables, and compares the earth to a bird, of which Mecca and Medina form the head; Perſia and India the right wing; the land of Gog the left wing; and Africa the tail. He ſuppoſes the exiſtence of an earth anterior to this, ſituated elſewhere, and which has ſubſiſted 7000 years. Notwithſtanding we ſhould reject theſe fables, we ought not to neglect the works, which contain many curious and intereſting details, of which we have no idea. Maſoudi ſuppoſes alſo, that the earth which we inhabit has been ſucceſſively covered with waters, which have

have paſſed off ſometimes on one ſide, ſometimes on the other.

We ſhall not ſpeak of what the author advances of Adam and his fall, and of the firſt patriarchs to Noah: his recital is a medley, borrowed from the book of Moſes, and the fabulous tradition of the Alcoran. He ſuppoſed, that in the confuſion of tongues, God placed among the branches of Shem ſeventy-nine languages; of Ham, twenty-ſeven; and of Japhet thirty-ſix; and that before that time they ſpoke Syriac. It is needleſs to dwell on all this ancient hiſtory, or on the liſt of the Jewiſh kings.

What the author ſays of the Indians is very ſhort; he praiſes their wiſdom as well as their gentle and peaceable character; he aſſigns them for a capital a city called *Houza*, which we know nothing of, but which exiſted in his time. According to Maſoudi, the firſt king of that nation was Bramah, in whoſe reign they diſcovered mines of iron, with which they made arms: they alſo built temples with twelve towers, which repreſented the twelve ſigns of the Zodiac; and they had drawn thereon the ſtars, and all the heavens. In his time alſo they made a book, intitled, Send-kind, which he explains by calling, "the book from age to ages;" from which they have compiled two others, one called Ardgihan, the other Almageſt. It is ſuppoſed that the firſt is taken from the Ankend, or Erkend, another Indian book; and that from the latter, Ptolemy compiled his Almageſt. The Indians ſay, that according to theſe books, the ſun remains 3000 years in each of the twelve ſigns, and

and performs his revolutions in the heavens in 36,000 years. In the days of Maſoudi, A. C. 943, the Brahmans ſay the ſun was in *Taurus*; that when he paſſes through the meridional ſigns, the world will be reverſed; north will become ſouth, and ſouth become north. The Egyptians, as we learn from Herodotus, had nearly the ſame opinion. According to the Brahmans, as Maſoudi reports, 12,000 years form a ſpace of time which they call Hazarouam; and they think the world will be renewed every 70,000 Hazarouam. Here Maſoudi copies exactly the Indian notion on the deſtruction and renewal of the world; and as we amuſe ourſelves in Europe with ſuch calculations, we ſhall not be offended to meet with them in an hiſtorian of the tenth century of the Chriſtian æra.

Brahmah, under whoſe reign theſe different pieces of knowledge were attributed to the Indians, reigned, according to Maſoudi, 366 years, and from him the Brahmans, ſo revered in India, deſcended; who, (he adds) to diſtinguiſh themſelves from other men, wore a yellow ſtring round their necks. Several ſages lived in his reign; ſeven are diſtinguiſhed, doubtleſs, in imitation of the ſeven ſages of Greece. The different doctrines propoſed and publiſhed by theſe ſages, cauſed a diviſion to be made among the learned of India. Maſoudi names the ſucceſſors of Brahmah; we confeſs the liſt of them deſerves little confidence; yet, as it is very ſhort, we ſhall give it, becauſe it ſerves to ſhew us that the ancient hiſtory of India is, in general, little known.

Babend

Babend ſucceeded Brahmah, and reigned 100 years; Zarmar reigned 180 years, and, as it is pretended, made war on the Perſians and Chineſe; Phour, conquered by Alexander, reigned 140 years (this was Porus); Diſlam, or Dabſchlim, reigned 120 years (this probably was the Taxiles of the Greek hiſtorians); Yalhith ſucceeded him, and reigned 80 years; according to ſome 130; Kouros reigned 120 years; under him lived Sendbad, author of the book of the Seven Vizirs, in which they go back to the origin of æras.

This is what is told of the ancient kings of India; but what Maſoudi adds, is more worthy our attention. It is uſual with him to finiſh all his relations by declaring the ſtate of the country, as it was in his time, and often what he had himſelf ſeen. This affords us a knowledge of that age; which we find no where elſe, and which the Arabians, who were then great voyagers, could alone procure.

After the reign of Kouros, whoever he was, the Indians divided, and formed different kingdoms. There was a king in the country of Sind (towards the Indies); one in the country of Kanoudge (towards the Ganges); one in the Kaſchmir; one in the city of Mankir, otherwiſe called the *Grand Houza* (this muſt be near the Guzerat). Maſoudi, and all the Arabian authors, give the prince who reigned there the title of *Balhara*. This, he ſays, is the firſt and moſt powerful king of India; where a long race of ſovereigns have reigned under this title, and they ſubſiſted in his time. We may here add, that they exiſted

exiſted alſo in the time of Ptolomy the geographer. We ſee here a very important and very ancient diviſion of India, of which we had not the leaſt knowledge.

As there is little order in this work in general, and Maſoudi ſpeaks of the Indians elſewhere, I may be permitted to deviate from his method, in order to draw objects together which are too much ſcattered. He returns to this ſubject in another place, and ſays, that Kaſchmir, which forms a part of India, is ſurrounded on all ſides by very high mountains; the interior part of the country is filled with a prodigious number of cities and villages; and that it can be entered at one place only, which is ſhut by a gate.

The kingdom of Bourouh, the ſame as Kanadge, is 120 Indian paraſangs in extent. The king keeps always on foot four armies, each of 700,000 men; or, according to others, of 900,000 men. With the northern army he oppoſes the king of Moultan and the Muſſulmans; with the ſouthern army, the Balhara, who is the king of kings, whoſe reſidence is eighty paraſangs from the ſea (towards the coaſt of Malabar, to the north). With the other two armies, the king of Kanoudge makes war on his other neighbours. There are many cities and towns in his country; but, in compariſon of the other kings of India, this prince has but few elephants armed for war; they do not reckon more than 1000 of that kind. Such was the ſtate of India in the time of Maſoudi. He tells us alſo, that the Moultan was ſtill filled by a prince of the family of Sama, ſon of Louai, ſon of Ghaleb;

Ghaleb; and that he was neighbour to the Muſſulmans. That there was in his country an idol, to which all the Indians repaired in pilgrimage; they call it the idol of Moultan: his temple is remarkably rich. Maſoudi aſſures us he had travelled over this country; and adds, that the prince who reigned in his time was named Aboul-doulhat-al-mounbeh, ſon of Aſad-al-carſchi, the Syrian. When he arrived at another city of India, named Manſoura, diſtant from Moultan ſixty-five Indian paraſangs, (Manſoura is near the Indus*) a prince named Aboul-moundar, ſon of Abdallah, reigned there. This city of Manſoura is ſo named from Manſour, ſon of Dgiambour, lieutenant to the khalif Ommiades.

The ſame author informs us, that the Muſſulmans were much reſpected by the Balhara; that there were ſome well-built moſques in this country, where they prayed five times a day. They aſcribed the long life of the Balhara, and his numerous poſterity, to his juſtice, and the protection he granted the Muſſulmans. In the ideas we have formed of the Indians and their ſciences, we have not conſidered their connections with foreigners. From the time of Alexander the Great, the Romans, the Perſians, and Arabians, have ſettled in India, and ruled there; and muſt neceſſarily have contributed to the progreſs of the ſciences among the Indians.

Maſoudi points out, in a few words, ſome other countries, more eaſterly than Balhara, and ends with

* In MS. 598, a paraſang is ſaid to be eight miles.

that

that of *Hated*, contiguous to China. This muſt be a part of Thibet. The prince that reigned there was very powerful, and carried war into China: which is exact; for, in fact, we find that, in the hiſtory of China, at that time the nations of Toufan, or of Thibet, were very troubleſome neighbours to the Chineſe, whoſe frontiers they ravaged. But Maſoudi is not ſufficiently clear, and the names he aſſigns to countries are often unknown to us.

Hitherto we have followed him in his ſurvey of the northern part of India; let us ſee what he relates of the ſouthern. "India, (ſays he) is a vaſt country, "ſurrounded by the ſea. It borders upon the king-"dom of Zanedge, or Zindge. The latter is go-"verned by a king, who bears the title of mehradge." (It is the ſame as the maha-raja, or great rhaja, which has ſince been borne by the ſovereign of the Mahrattas, which name is formed from that of maha-raja.) This mehradge was, according to Maſoudi, the king of the iſles: by which he means the peninſula of India; for the Arabians make uſe of the ſame appellation for iſland and peninſula, and confound them together. It is then of the ſouthern part of India he treats in this place. "This coun-"try (ſays he) is ſituated between India and China, "but adjacent to India, properly called; which is "confined, on one ſide, by the mountains of Kho-"roſan. The Zindges differ (adds he) from the "other Indians in figure, colour, and temper; and "they believe the metempſychoſys." We here ſee, that he diſtinguiſhes theſe people from the Indians, properly

properly ſo called, who lived towards the north. He alſo ſpeaks of the king of *Conrad*, or of Cape Comorin, who was at war with the mehradge. The Arabians, at this time, were perfectly acquainted with the Indies, and frequented the coaſts of Malabar and Coromandel; alſo the whole northern parts of India: but their hiſtorians do not deſcribe theſe countries ſo minutely as we could wiſh.

To avoid interrupting the narrative, I ſhall, at the end of this account, notice a meaſure of the earth, which the author inſerts here, and which is only to be found in the two manuſcripts of 598 and 599; and I omit what he relates of China, a country to which the Arabians carried on great commerce, and over every part of which they have travelled. The author makes the Chineſe deſcended from Japhet; whoſe poſterity at firſt ſettled in Tartary, and, after ſome generations, paſſed to China. He names the founders of the nation, and ſome princes that ſucceeded them: but thoſe names are ſo disfigured, either by the copyiſt, or Maſoudi himſelf, that it is impoſſible to decypher them. He ſpeaks of a firſt king that turned the courſe of the rivers, killed wild beaſts that infeſted the country, and planted trees. This is nearly what the Chineſe relate of *Yao*. His ſucceſſors, which he ſeems to point out by the generical name of the Dynaſties, but which have been much altered, had, he ſays, a cuſtom of placing, in a temple, portraits or figures of their anceſtors, which they worſhipped. This correſponds with the manners of the preſent Chineſe. Under one of thoſe princes the

the arts were multiplied in the country. They conſtructed a veſſel, in which they paſſed over to India, and to the country of Babylon, which contributed to the farther civilization of the Chineſe. Maſoudi, at laſt deſcending to his own time, ſpeaks of a conſiderable revolt, excited by a certain Baiſchou, who took the town of Khancou, (Canton) ſituated on a river larger than the Tygris. The veſſels from Baſra, Siraph, Oman, and from the iſlands; from Zanedge, or Zindge; and from Senef, and other places, touched there in great numbers. The rebel, after having made himſelf maſter of the city, put to death a great number of Chriſtians, Jews, Magi, and Muſſulmans, that were ſettled there, or came for traffic. Thus, in the time of the author, all theſe ſtrangers frequented China, and went freely to the emperor's court. He cites various perſons who have made that voyage, and aſſerts his having conſulted them. He ſpecifies, among others, one Abouyezid-Mohammed, ſon of Yezid, of the town of Siraph, whom he had ſeen at Baſra, and who was juſt returned from China, where he had been from the year 915 of Jeſus Chriſt. This account of Maſoudi of the Chriſtians that were then in China, ſerves to confirm the authenticity of a Chineſe monument, which has been ſo much conteſted, and which acquaints us, that before that epocha, the Neſtorians and the Chriſtian religion were eſtabliſhed in China.

Maſoudi paſſes then to the different ſeas, and points out the moſt proper ſeaſons to navigate them. In the enumeration he makes, when he ſpeaks of that of

China, which he ſays is extremely difficult and dangerous, he adds, that they have no notion of any country beyond it, but that which he calls *Belad Aſſabil*, i. e. country of Sabil*, and ſome iſlands. He obſerves, that there is a way to China by ſea and land, and that he has ſeen ſeveral travellers who had even penetrated into it by way of Khoraſan and Thibet. He alſo mentions the caravans which go from Khoraſan to India. He cites, on this occaſion, a country of which we have not the leaſt knowledge, and which they croſs in going to India: he calls it *Ileſtan*. This country is very extenſive, well inhabited, and filled with fortified places. It was the kingdom of Perviz, ſon of Kounk, or Kound; and it is thought that theſe people deſcended from the ancient Perſians. In relating here another paſſage of Maſoudi, cited below, we find that this kingdom was ſituated in the Sezeſtan, or Zabouleſtan. [There is ſome appearance, that after the conqueſt of Perſia by the Arabians, ſeveral Perſian families took refuge in this country, and eſtabliſhed a powerful kingdom.] Maſoudi ſpeaks alſo of the kings of Thibet, who, agreeable to other Oriental authors, draw their origin from ſome prince of Yemen, who retired to this country.

In traverſing the different ſeas, he comes to that which is contiguous to Spain, and ſays a few words of that country; then ſpeaks of the ſea of Mogrib or

* Or *Sail*. De Herbelot, under the word *Saïla*, ſpeaks of theſe iſlands.

Africa;

Africa; obſerving, that one third of the terreſtrial globe is inhabited; that a ſecond third conſiſts of inhabitable deſerts; and that the other third is covered by the ſea. Generally ſpeaking, there is but little order in the whole work. Maſoudi ſpeaks of ſome countries ſituated in Africa, as thoſe of *Telmeſan*, *Jaharat*, *Féz*, *Sous-al-adna*, or the nearer, which muſt be diſtinguiſhed from that of *Sous-al-acſa*, or the farther. The country of the firſt Sous has an extent of about twenty days journey; beyond it there is a deſert of ſand, which muſt be croſſed before we arrive at the city of *Nebas*. It is in this country that the Kharedgites have begun to appear. "Their origin," ſays the author, "is not "known; but ſome believe, they are Perſians, who, "abandoning the environs of Iſpahan, went to ſettle "in theſe diſtant countries. The Aglabites* came "alſo from this part of Africa." To avoid as much as poſſible the confuſion that abounds in this work, we ſhall include, in this article, what the author ſays elſewhere of ſome other people of Africa. Theſe details may appear dry and tireſome; but let us reflect that we are entirely unacquainted with the interior part of Africa. There is reaſon to believe that Maſoudi, who has been ſo exact on India and other countries, is not leſs ſo on this, which his contemporaries have frequented for trade, and from whom he may have gained information. The ſhort details he gives us, added to thoſe we can find in other works, will contribute, without doubt, to enlarge our knowledge of this part of the world. In ſpeaking of the

* In the ninth century of the Chriſtian æra, the Aglabites reigned in Africa. They made themſelves maſters of Sicily.

Soudans, or *Negroes*, he is of opinion, that thoſe people deſcended from the children of Canaan, who croſſing the Nile, went farther on, and diſperſed themſelves; ſome ſettling towards the eaſt, formed the Nubians and the Badge; others, towards the weſt, formed the Zaghaové, the Ghafou or Kacou, the Martak or Marbak, the Koukou, the Akma, the Ghabé, and other Ethiopians, and the Damadamians. Some paſſed between the eaſt and weſt; theſe are the Zinges, the Maſkou, or the Berbers: we paſs through their country in going to thoſe of Dalhac, of Zila, and of Badia. Thoſe people have plenty of ſkins of tygers and aſſes, of which they make their cloaths. Maſoudi ſpeaks of a nation called *Ouacouac*, which was very powerful: the king bore the title of *Phalims*, or *Aphlimi*; he was the king of the Zinges*, (or of Zacquebar) and had an army of 300,000 horſemen. There is in this country, which is 700 paraſangs in extent, neither elephants, mules, or camels; it borders on that of Sophala, where the veſſels of Oman and Siraph reſort. The country of Sophala is contiguous to that of Ouacouac, and is remarkably rich in gold. At one or two days ſail from the country of the Zinges, is an iſland inhabited by Muſſulmans (perhaps Madagaſcar). Independent of theſe nations,

* Maſoudi places alſo in India, a people he calls Zinges. The Zinges that came from Africa rendered themſelves powerful in Syria, about the year of the Hegira 270, and of Jeſus Chriſt 883.

De Herbelot obſerves, that the Perſians called theſe Zinges of Africa *Siaphindou*; that is to ſay, *black Indians*. The appellation of Zinges equally attributed to ſome people of India, reminds us of the idea of the ancients, who likewiſe called the Ethiopians Indians.

we learn from Maſoudi, that there was a great number of Arabian tribes, who were diſperſed over the deſerts of Africa. Thoſe details are too much abridged, but they are not to be neglected.

Maſoudi equally dwells on that vaſt chain of mountains ſituated at the weſt of the Caſpian ſea, and which extends as far as the Euxine bridge. As but a few of our travellers have penetrated into this country, that, or the nations ſettled in it, are but little known to us; we are even in want of a good map of the paſſes of theſe mountains, by which the barbarians of the north have made their incurſions into Aſia. Theſe are the ſame countries of which Maſoudi leaves us a curious and intereſting detail, deſcriptive of a ſtate in which they were at his time.

He calls that vaſt chain the mountain *Al-phalti*, or *of the Victory*. In this mountainous country they count ſeventy nations, which had each their peculiar language, and formed ſeparate kingdoms; ſuch were the Lan, (Alains) the Khozars, the Bargaz, or Bargar, and the Turks. Khoſrou-Anouſchirouan, (Khoſroes) king of Perſia, built in this country the town of Bal-al-abouab; that is to ſay, *Gate of Gates*, (Derbend) to ſeparate his dominions from the country of Khozars, who reigned in the north. He joined a wall to it, which on one ſide ſtretched within a mile of the ſea, and the other end touched the mountain, and ſtretching towards the weſt, about 40 paraſangs, reached as far as the caſtle called *Calaat Kabareſtan*; and every third mile he placed an iron gate, with troops to repel the neighbouring nations, as the Khozars, the Turks,

and other infidels. All that country, to the ſea of Conſtantinople, was very populous; on the ſhore of which ſtands the city of Trebiſonda, where every year merchants, Muſſelmans, Roum, Armenians, and thoſe of the country of Kaſchek, reſort in great numbers, to ſell and purchaſe merchandize.

Khoſrou-Anouſchirouan placed in the city of *Bal-al-abouab* (or Derbend) a prince who bore the title of *Schirouan-Schah*; that is to ſay, king of Schirouan. He that reigned in 332 of the Hegira, (of Jeſus Chriſt 943) was named *Mohammed*, ſon of Yezo, of the poſterity of Bahram-tchoubin, an ancient king of Perſia. Maſoudi mentions ſome other princes of theſe countries, who had embraced Mahomedaniſm, and who were all deſcended from the kings of Perſia; whence we ought to infer, that the inacceſſible mountains ſerved as an aſylum to ſeveral Perſian princes, when the Arabians invaded Perſia, and drove out the Saſſanides, who reigned there.

Among all theſe mountaineers, there were ſome Arabian tribes, three days journey from *Bal-al-abouab*. In other places there were Chriſtans, Jews, and Muſſulmans, who carried on a great commerce. Maſoudi points out, about Baki, a mine of white naphta, the only one, as it is thought, in the world; at leaſt, ſays he, according to the cuſtom of the Arabians, who, when they are not ſure of what they advance, ſay, *God knows it*; for the Orientals, in their diſquiſitions, content themſelves with citing the ſentiments of different authors, and end with this formula. From this mine iſſues a fountain of fire, which

which riſes very high, and which may be perceived on all ſides, at the diſtance of 100 paraſangs*. Maſoudi, by this, means a volcano, and takes this opportunity to ſpeak of ſeveral others, one of which he places in the country of the Franks, in the land of Mogreb (thus Africa is called, and all that lies towards the weſt; he poſſibly means mount Ætna, in Sicily). The moſt conſiderable is that which is to be found in the ſtates of Mehradge, in India (in the peninſula). "There are alſo ſome," adds he, "in the "countries of Kaſpha, Hadramout, and Oman, in "Arabia. At a great diſtance one may hear a noiſe "that reſembles that of thunder. This volcano "emits ſtones out of ſight."

Thoſe who apply themſelves to the ſtudy of ancient hiſtory, and who have attempted to fix the chronology, would probably be but little gratified with the manner of Maſoudi's treating this ſubject; whereon, notwithſtanding our efforts, we have been able to throw but a faint light. The Oriental hiſtorians relate many fables of ancient times; which, indeed, they are but

* There is no mention made of this volcano near the Caſpian ſea; but in the new hiſtory of Ruſſia, by M. le Clerc, it is ſaid that Caucaſus, on that ſide, filled with metals, and combuſtible materials, emits in different places warm ſprings and ſources of naptha, of different qualities. There is to be ſeen native ſulphur, or ore of vitriol; elſewhere lakes, which a ſubterraneous fire cauſes to bubble up in a ſenſible manner. From the foot of mount Caucaſus, which immediately forms the weſtern ſhore of the Caſpian ſea, ſpring two ſources of naphta, which is very common in thoſe countries. This bitumen flows from mountains, ſometimes pure, and ſometimes mixed with heterogeneous ſubſtances, and falls into that ſea by ſubterraneous canals.

little informed of: they have made lists of princes, of whom we neither see the origin or foundation; or if they have copied Grecian authors, or other writers, the names are so corrupted by the copiers, that it is not possible to discover them. Such is the state of their literature, in what concern antiquities: in general, they trace the origin of all nations and empires back to Noah and his offspring. Masoudi begins with a list of Syrian kings, nine in number: he tells us that he has drawn it from Syrian and Nabathean historians; but it seems so vague, so inaccurate, and corrupted in the names, that I thought it superfluous to transcribe it here. However, as to Masoudi's recital, which comes down to his own time, the list he gives us of the Syrian kings may serve to elucidate an event which is but little known to us. He speaks of a king Akrimoun, or Akrioun, the fourth in the list: he says that he was overcome by a king of India, whom he calls *Zenbil*. This seems to be but a fable; but he adds, that all the kings of that part of India bore the title of *Zenbil*, and they bore it in his time (A. C. 940). This we were ignorant of. Who are those Indian princes called *Zenbil*? Al-macin, in his history of the 82d year of the Hegira, (A. C. 701) mentions a war against *Zenbil*, king of the Turks. This king of India, according to Masoudi, and of the Turks, according to Al-macin, the sovereign of a Scythian or Tartar nation, as we think, who about the time of the Christian æra sent to take possession of all the countries that lie in the northern part of India; it

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is theſe Scythians which are called Indo-Scythians; Strabo ſpeaks of them. Their empire was ſtill ſubſiſting, A. C. 701. Coſmas Indopleuſtes makes alſo mention, and calls them White Huns. The recitals of theſe different hiſtorians prove the exiſtence of this kingdom in thoſe ages, but it is falſe that it has exiſted in India in ſuch diſtant times as Maſoudi would inſinuate. This is what we may derive from the fables he relates; and I thought it incumbent on me, in my reſearches, not to neglect any thing which might procure us a knowledge of the empires which have been erected in the different countries of the world.

This hiſtorian next names the kings of Nineveh, whom he calls Arthourians (probably the Aſſyrians). This liſt, that begins with Ninus, ſon of Belus, deſerves no more attention than the preceding. We ſhall only obſerve, that he ſpeaks of two kingdoms, whoſe capitals were Mouſſoul and Nineveh. He adds, that there were no traces to be ſeen of the laſt city in his time, and that its ſcite was taken up by cultivated fields. I alſo haſten to paſs over the liſt of the Babylonian kings*, which he ſeems to have copied after ſome Greek author. It begins with Nimrod the Giant, or the Brave; for, in the Oriental languages, the word *dgiabbar* has this double

* The whole of the ancient hiſtory, which is not in the manuſcript of 599, A. is not an addition of ſome extraneous hand, ſince Maſoudi refers in different places of his work to it. I ſay as much with reſpect to ſome other parts of this hiſtory.

ſignification;

ſignification. And the author fixes the duration of their reigns.

From the Babylonians, Maſoudi paſſes to the ancient kings of Perſia, whoſe origin he traces back to the beginning of the world, to Kaïomors, or Kaïomorzath; "Which ſome (ſays he) make ſon of Adam, not "admitting of any univerſal deluge; others the ſon of "Aram, ſon of Sem, and ſon of Noah." We ſuppreſs the liſt he gives of thoſe princes, becauſe we find it in ſeveral French or Latin works, and eſpecially in the *Oriental Library*. We ſhall only mention two legiſlators, of whom he ſpeaks in this enumeration of the Perſian kings. Under the reign of Thamouraſp, one of the firſt kings of that country, appeared *Boudaſp*, author of the Sabian religion, or the worſhippers of the ſtars. He aſſigns him the country that lies between Waſeth and Baſra, in Perſia, for his extraction. He again mentions him towards the end of the ſecond part of his work, when he ſpeaks of the ancient temples. But I thought proper to collect, under one view, theſe different paſſages, ſometimes too much ſcattered in this work. Here Maſoudi pretends that Boudaſp appeared in India. He next proceeded to Sejeſtan and Zabouleſtan, which is the country of Phirouz, ſon of Kand; [he has elſewhere called this country Ileſtan] thence he returned to India, and the country of Lian. He calls himſelf the meſſenger of God, and the mediator between the Deity and the creatures. He went to Perſia under the reign of Thamouraſp; others contend under that of *Dgem*, or Hham: and here eſtabliſhed the

the worſhip of idols. The king Dgem is, according to ſome, the author of the worſhip of fire, the ſymbol of the ſun and ſtars. Thamouraſp was of the dynaſty of the Perſian kings called *Piſchdadians*, which was ſucceeded by another, named *Kaïanians*. But the whole of the ancient hiſtory of Perſia, as told by the Orientals, is very obſcure.

Maſoudi places, under the reign of Lohoraſp, ſon of Kiſchtarp, the birth of Zerdouſcht, or Zoroaſter; he makes him deſcend from Manoudgeher, an ancient king of Perſia. This legiſlator, a native of Abherbidgiane, wrote his work in golden letters on 12,000 ſkins. The magi, and the kings of Perſia, obſerved his precepts down to the time of Alexander, who committed his book to the flames. Under the reign of Ardſchir-Babegan, (Artaxerxes, the firſt of the Saſſanides) the magi collected a chapter of it called Eſbad, and to this time they do not read any other. As to the firſt book, called *Bouſbah*, (Aveſta) as it was hard to comprehend, Zoroaſter had made an explication to it, which he called *Zend*. From this he made another, which was named Pazend; and the magi, after his death, made a new explication, which they termed Pazadeh. Till the preſent time, they always carefully preſerved theſe books; every perſon was in poſſeſſion of one part of them: and now it is ſaid that a man of Sejeſtan has got the whole in his poſſeſſion. This circumſtance ſeems to deſerve ſome attention. Sejeſtan was a part of the country of Ileſtan, where ſtill reigned thoſe of the Perſian princes, who withdrew thither after the overthrow of their empire by

by the Arabians, and where they had become very powerful.

Maſoudi then ſpeaks of the kings Aſchghanians, (Arſacidæ) which reigned in Perſia after the death of Alexander, and who were cut off by the Saſſanides, whoſe hiſtory is more certain, and better known [we call them Khoſroes]. Theſe new kings of Perſia deſcend, according to all the Oriental hiſtorians, and as Maſoudi obſerves, from Manoudgeher, one of the ancient kings of the dynaſty of the *Piſchdadians*. He gives the ſucceſſion of theſe princes.

It is under Behram, ſon of Hormodz, (Varenas, ſon of Hormiſdas) he places Mani, or Manes; under whom the *Zendig*, a kind of heretics, believing in the metempſychoſis, appeared. After Zoroaſter had compoſed his Aveſta, and the different explanations of which we have ſpoken, diviſions ſprung up among the magi: ſome, that adhered to the explication, named Zend, were called *Zendians*; whence has been made, by corruption, *Zendig*.

The author, after having given the liſt of all the Perſian princes, makes a recapitulation, for which, he ſays, he had conſulted ſeveral works.

From Kaïoumarrath, firſt king of Perſia, to Jaſdejerd, who is the laſt, he reckons 57 kings, and three queens: in all 60—others reckon 80. They reigned during a ſpace of 4450 years. From the ſame Kaïoumarrath to Manougeher, ancient king of Perſia, 1192 years; from Manoudgeher to Zoroaſter, 580 years; from Zoroaſter to Alexander, 258 years. Alexander reigned 15 years; or, according to the manuſcript

manuſcript 598, ſix years. From Alexander to Ardſchir (Artaxerxes I.) 517 years. From Ardſchir to the Hegira, 404 years*.

Theſe ſtatements, which preſent us the ſentiments of the Orientals on the chronology of the ancient kings of Perſia, merit ſome attention; and it is in this view that, notwithſtanding the dryneſs of the ſubject, I judge they ought to be made known. I ſhall afterwards cite ſome others, which this hiſtorian gives us, becauſe we have no exact idea of the chronology of the Orientals, nor of the manner in which they treat of it.

We paſs over what Maſoudi reports of the Greeks and Romans, which he had leſs opportunity of knowing: we ſhall only mention that he makes the Greeks deſcend from Javan, brother of Cathan, who, quitting Yemen, paſſed into the weſt. The Greeks were delivered from the dominion of the Perſians by Alexander, of whom the Orientals have forged many fables. Maſoudi makes this conqueror penetrate even as far as Thibet and China, where he left ſome of his Greeks.

As to the Romans, he derives them from Eſau, ſon of Iſrael. "This patriarch had," he ſays, "eſpouſed "the daughters of the Amalekites, who were Ara"bians, and whoſe poſterity paſſed into the weſt." He ſays nothing of the times of the republic. In general, theſe Romans called maſters of the world are little known to Arabian authors, and ſtill leſs to more Oriental hiſtorians. Maſoudi gives the ſucceſſion of the emperors, from Julius Cæſar to his time;

* Or, according to the manuſcript, No. 598, 404 years.

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he fixes the birth of Jeſus Chriſt at the 42d year of Auguſtus, and at the 369th of Alexander; which he ſays he had read in the chronicles of the Roums (Romans or Grecians) at Antiochia. He reckons from Adam to the birth of Jeſus Chriſt 5550 years. All the names of the emperors are extremely mutilated by the inaccuracy of copyiſts, and through the difficulty of expreſſing them in Arabic letters. The extent of their reign down to Conſtantine is, according to Maſoudi, 437 years, 7 months, 6 days.

I muſt beg leave to animadvert a moment on ſome circumſtances concerning Chriſtianity; perſuaded that none will be diſpleaſed to hear a muſſulman ſpeak of eccleſiaſtical hiſtory. He ſays, that Conſtantine, who was an idolater, embraced Chriſtianity the 6th year of his reign: that his mother, Helena, paſſed in the 7th into Syria; that ſhe built churches there; that from thence ſhe went to Jeruſalem to find out the wood on which the Meſſiah had been crucified; and that having found it, ſhe cauſed it to be ornamented with gold and ſilver, and inſtituted a holyday, called the feaſt of the croſs, which coincides with the 14th of the month Eloul, on which the canals in Egypt are opened. The ſame princeſs built alſo a church at Homeſſa, enriched with four columns, which was one of the wonders of Egypt: ſhe expended immenſe ſums in Egypt, in Syria, and Greece, towards the building of churches.

The 17th year of Conſtantine, 318 biſhops aſſembled at Nicea, being the firſt aſſembly of thoſe called ſynods: the Melkites, Neſtorians, and Jacobites, adhered to this ſynod.

Under

Under Gratian, who reigned 15 years, was held the ſecond ſynod, at Conſtantinople: 150 biſhops aſſiſted.

Under Theodoſius was held, at Epheſus, the third ſynod; there were 200 biſhops. Marcian and his ſpouſe, Pulcheria, ordered the ſeat of the patriarch of the Jacobites to be at Antioch. There was alſo another in Egypt.

Under Leo, the fourth ſynod was held at Anchrya: 660 biſhops aſſiſted. In another place, he reckons only 146. That ſynod was held concerning the Melkites and the Jacobites.

Juſtinian built the great church of Rohu, (Edeſa) which was one of the wonders of the world. There was, ſays Maſoudi, in that church a cloth, for which the Chriſtians entertain great veneration. They ſay that Chriſt, after having received the baptiſm, wiped himſelf with this linen, which was preſerved, and depoſited in the church of Roha. Afterwards, when the Greeks came to beſiege that town, in the year 332 of the Hegira (943 of J. C.) the Muſſulmans reſtored it to them, which cauſed a great joy among them. We ſhall not enlarge on what concerns the Grecian empire. Maſoudi reckons from Conſtantine, to the year 943 of J. C. 41 Chriſtian kings, who reigned during 507 years; and ſince the creation of the world, ſix thouſand two hundred and fifty-nine years.

In the manuſcript 599, A. all this part of the ancient hiſtory is omitted, although the author cites it on many occaſions. It is alſo an imperfection in this manuſcript, to begin by what reſpects the ſea and the

the land, after which it paſſes to the hiſtory of Egypt. This latter is treated of with greater extent than in the other two manuſcripts, which, after ſome particular obſervations, contains only a liſt of the ancient kings of Egypt. In this new manuſcript the liſt is accompanied with a long detail, but ſo loaded with fables and wonders, that this piece, which ſhould otherwiſe excite our curioſity, merits no attention: he talks of nothing but of Genii and of Taliſmans. The names of the princes are entirely different from thoſe we are acquainted with. Syncellus has given us the ſucceſſion after Manetho; but we muſt confeſs, that notwithſtanding all the efforts of learned men, we have not yet been able to put them in order; and as it preſents by far too many princes, we endeavour to make them cotemporaries. This number of kings in Maſoudi is much leſs conſiderable, and more agreeable to the chronology of the Scripture. Maſoudi counts, among thoſe kings, but ſeven, to which he gives the name of Pharaoh; he often mentions the power of the Amalekites, who invaded and poſſeſſed Egypt; and he introduces a woman called Dalouka, who was queen of Egypt, and who cauſed a great wall to be built, of which, he avers, there were traces to be ſeen in his time. This wall was called Hhaïth-al-adgiouz, that is to ſay, the old woman's wall. She cauſed alſo to be conſtructed ſeveral other buildings in Egypt.

To the time when the Perſians made themſelves maſters of Egypt, Maſoudi reckons thirty-two Egyptian, fifteen Babylonian, and four Amalekite kings.

He

He concludes what concerns this country, with ſome account of the city of Alexandria, of its Pharos and ſome other monuments. He tells of many wonders of the Pharos, the building of which he aſcribes to the ſixth Pharaoh*: Alexander did but repair it. He aſſerts, that they put a looking-glaſs on the top, in which the country of Roum, the iſlands of the Sea, together with all that paſſed among their inhabitants, and the veſſels that arrived, might be ſeen. In the memoirs of the Academy of Sciences, this circumſtance has been cited from Aboulfeda. Here it is related by a more ancient writer, and ſerves to prove, at leaſt, that in his time, after rejecting all the marvellous events which theſe writers have added, this kind of looking-glaſſes was not unknown to them.

We further learn from Maſoudi, that ſeveral Egyptian monuments, till then reſpected by the Perſians, Greeks, and Romans, had been ſearched by the Arabians, under the reign of Abdolmalik (who died anno 705 of Jeſus Chriſt). His brother, Abdolaziz, who was governor of Egypt, on the advice given him by a private perſon, cauſed a ſtrict ſearch to be made in the place pointed out. There they diſcovered a ſubterraneous paſſage; and penetrating further, they perceived a column with a bird on its top, which caſt a great luſtre; it was of gold, and its wings ornamented with precious ſtones. They ſaw in the ſame place

* Theſe details are in the three manuſcripts. The author adds, that on a column, which was very high, there was an inſcription in Hemiarite letters, on which was written, that an ancient Arabian king, named Schaddad, had drawn it from mountains, and tranſported it to that place.

pictures, circles, or ſpheres, and figures of all kinds. They looked upon this bird as a taliſman, and it was pretended that he clapped his wings and ſung, which ſurprized all thoſe that were preſent.—A thouſand men were employed in theſe works.

In proceſs of time, they employed themſelves again in the ſearch of theſe ſubterraneous places, which Maſoudi takes to be the tombs of the ancient kings of Egypt, and it was thought they contained their treaſures. In 939 of Jeſus Chriſt, Ikſchid Mohammed, who was then king of Egypt, renewed the ſearch, and they found a place of thoſe tombs, where there were figures of old men, young people, women, and children; their eyes were precious ſtones; the faces of ſome were of gold, of others ſilver. They ſearched alſo in 883 of Jeſus Chriſt, by the order of Ahmed, ſon of Thouloun, king of Egypt. It appears that the ſovereigns of this country, ſince the Arabians made themſelves maſters of it, and who firſt withdrew themſelves from the authority of the khalifs of Bagdat, were indebted for their power to the treaſures they had found there; they were enabled to ſet on foot numerous armies, and ſome of them undertook buildings in Egypt, which were much like thoſe of the ancient kings of Egypt.

After the hiſtory of Egypt, Maſoudi dwells a ſhort time on the Sclavonians, Francs, and Spaniards. As thoſe nations were little known to him, he only ſtays to name ſome of the Sclavonian princes*. He takes

* He ſays, that in his time one of the Sclavonian regions, which was very ancient, had a king named *Mahak*; the latter had taken poſ-
ſeſſion

takes what he ſays of the French from a biſhop named Gharber, or Gherber, who was in Egypt at the time he wrote. He begins with Clovis, and his wife Clotilda, and names ſeveral of his ſucceſſors to his own time, which takes but one page of his manuſcript. What he relates of Spain is leſs extenſive; he makes known the particular cauſes which had brought on the war, anno 327 of the Hegira, and of Jeſus Chriſt 938, between the Arabians and the Spaniards. We have ſeen that this hiſtorian always concludes with the tranſactions that happened in his time: this he does here. Abderrahman, ſon of Mohammed, who then reigned over the Arabians in Spain, had a vizier named *Ahmed*, ſon of Iſhac, with whom he was diſſatisfied, and put him to death. Oumaïa, the brother of the vizier, who reſided on the frontiers adjoining to the Spaniards, hearing of what had juſt happened, repaired to Ramir, king of Spain, and engaged him to wage war on the Arabians. Abderrahman ſet on foot above 100,000 men, to oppoſe Ramir. A great battle was fought between the two armies, in the month of Schoual, in the year of the Hegira, (of Jeſus Chriſt 938); the Muſſulmans loſt 50,000 men, and great riches. Some time after,

ſeſſion of a town called *Iſtbabouana*. The king that reigned then was called *Saklanidge*. Another Sclavonian nation aſſumed the name of *Doulaïah*, and the king that of *Thalia*. The third diviſion was called *Nabdgir*, or *Namdgin*, and the king *Ara*; and the fourth was called *Manani*, and their king, *Zanlbir*. All theſe names are disfigured. He alſo makes mention of a country, which he calls *Noukard*, or *Noukorod*, whoſe capital was called *Arnkis*, and is croſſed by a very large ſtream called *Dgiaïnan*.

Oumaïah deſerted the Spaniſh cauſe, and made his peace with Abderrahman, who pardoned him. This prince levied a new army, and from that time the war continued between the two nations.

All theſe details we have juſt related, (except what concerns Egypt) are to be found only in the manuſcripts 598 and 599. The latter contains, in addition, the hiſtory of the Arabians, which, together with that of Egypt, are in the manuſcript 599 A; and this piece, in the manuſcript 599, ſeems to form the ſecond part of the whole work, but it is very defective, and in the greateſt diſorder; ſo that we muſt recur to the manuſcript 599 A. In this article, which is very extenſive, the author goes back to the moſt ancient Arabians, and makes a digreſſion on thoſe who are deſcended from Iſmael. But it muſt be confeſſed, the Arabians themſelves are but little acquainted with their ancient hiſtory, and they have, on this ſubject, incoherent and obſcure traditions only to boaſt of, and many of theſe ought to be ſuſpected.

The moſt ancient Arabians are, firſt, thoſe of the tribes of *Ad*, whoſe poſterity inhabited the country of Hadramout: their firſt king was called *Ad*. One of his progeny, called Schaddad, made vaſt conqueſts, and carried war into India. Second, thoſe of the tribe of Themoud, who inhabited the country of Hedgiaz, upon the Ethiopian ſea. Third, thoſe of the tribes of Theſm, who inhabited in Ahouaz, or Perſia. Fourth, thoſe of Dgiodaïs, who lived in the country of Hou, which is Yemen, between Bakraïn

and

and Hedgiaz. Theſe are the four ancient tribes of the Arabians that ſubdued Irac. Abraham and Iſmael paſſed into Arabia, where they built the temple of Mecca, and the poſterity of Iſmael formed new Arabians. The author gives the ſucceſſion of all the princes who have reigned in this country; ſuch are the kings of Yemen, thoſe of Dgiorhamides, of Hira, and of Gaſſan. From thoſe princes the chiefs of Colonies ſpring; and one among them, called *Tobba*, went to ſettle in Thibet: this is a tradition generally adopted by the Arabians. Maſoudi ſpeaks then of the Bedouins, or Arabians of the deſart, and points out the names of a great number of their tribes, which are diſperſed over Aſia and Africa. We might draw ſome light from theſe names, to know the different nations of Africa; nor does he forget the Kurdes. Laſtly, this author gives a ſlight idea of the ancient religion of the Arabians before Mahomet. Some had embraced Judaiſm, others Chriſtianity, ſeveral were idolaters, and others involved in the darkeſt ignorance. There were others, who believing the angels to be the daughters of God, worſhipped them, and implored their aſſiſtance. He is not ſo full on this ſubject as he ought to be; he dwells a moment on the notions which the ancient Arabians entertained of the ſoul. Some believed it was only the air and blood, which are within our bodies; others, a kind of bird, or a light ſubſtance, which at the death of a man, took the form of a bird and uttered lamentable cries near his grave. This bird is the owl. The Arabians believed alſo, that there

were ſome genii, or fabulous animals, wandering on the higheſt mountains of Yemen and Egypt; and they deſcribed them by the names of *Dgin*, or *Genii*, *Ghoul*, and *Demons*. Maſoudi ſpeaks alſo of divination and caſting lots; a practice to which the Arabians have been at all times addicted.

What this hiſtorian relates of the months and the forms of the year, among different nations, ſeems worthy of attention; he ſometimes enters into details, of which we know little or nothing: ſo that this piece may be intereſting for thoſe of the readers who apply themſelves to chronology. It begins with the months of the Copths.

Coptic.		*Syrian.*	*Egyptian.*
1. Tot,	which anſwers to the Syrian month	Eloul	(that is, Thot)
2. Baba,		Tarchrin,	(Paophi)
3. Hatour,		Teſchrin,	(Athyr)
4. Kaiouk,		Kanoun	(Choëak)
5. Thouba,		Kanoun,	(Tiby)
6. Aſchir,		Schebath,	(Mechir)
7. Yarmhat,		Adar,	(Phamenot)
8. Yarmouda,		Niſan	(Pharmouti)
9. Baſchnaſch,		Ayar,	(Pachon)
10. Bouna,		Houzaïran,	(Payni)
11. Abib,		Thaimouz,	(Epiphi)
12. Maſra,		Ab,	(Meſori)

After theſe months, the Copths add the five intercalary days, their months giving but 360 days. By this addition, the year contains 365 days; the firſt day of the year agrees with the twenty-fourth of the Syrian month *Ab*. All theſe months have thirty days, like the Perſian months; the firſt of the month *Thot* of the Copths, is the firſt *Adermak* of the Perſians, which Maſoudi aſſures us he had examined

in

in the books of "The Tables of the Stars." The Copths add one-fourth of a day, according to the manner of the Greeks and Romans; and thus their months differ from the Perſians, and agree with the Greeks, who, by the augmentation of the quarter of a day, have every fourth year an additional day.

The æra of the Copths takes place from the firſt year of Nabonaſſer, of which the firſt day is a Wedneſday.

The æra of the Nabatheans, from the firſt year of the reign of Philip, the firſt day is a Sunday.

The difference between the æra of Nabonaſſer and that of Jazdejerd, is 1399 years three months.

Between that of Alexander and that of Jazdejerd, 950 years three months.

Between that of Alexander and that of Jazdejerd, 942 Roman years and 259 days.

Between the æra of Jazdejerd and that of the Hegira, 3624 days.

The firſt of the æras is that of Nabonaſſer; next that of Philip; then that of the mother of Alexander; then that of Jazdejerd; and laſtly, that of the Arabians, or the Hegira, which begins at the time Mahomed fled to Medina: its firſt day is Thurſday*.

The æra of the Perſians begins at the firſt year of the reign of Jazdejerd; its firſt day is Tueſday; Alphergani fixes it the ſame day.

* In the "Art of verifying Dates," it is obſerved, that in the civil ſtyle, the firſt day of the Hegira falls on a Friday, the 16th of July of the year 682 of Jeſus Chriſt; but that ſome aſtronomers tranſpoſed it on Thurſday the 15th; of which notice muſt be taken in reading Arabian authors. Alphergani puts it alſo on a Thurſday.

The æra of the Roums (Greeks) and of the Syrians, dates from the firſt year from the reign of Alexander; its firſt day is Monday; Alphergani fixes it likewiſe on a Monday. "As for the reſt," ſays Maſoudi, "*God knows it.*"

The year of the Syrians conſiſts of 365 days and one quarter, but their months have not all the ſame number of days.

1. Niſan, 30 days.
2. Ayar, 31.
3. Houzaïran, 30. The 18th of this month the ſun returns from the north, towards the Sind and the Hind (India); it is the longeſt day and the ſhorteſt night in the year.
4. Tamouz, 31.
5. Ab, 31. After this month the heat diminiſhes, water becomes freſh, and the nights are delightful. This month and the two preceding are regarded as incommodious, becauſe of the heat.
6. Eſoual, 30. The 5th of this month is the feaſt day of Zacharias, on whom is peace. The 13th night is that of the croſs, which is the 14th day. On the ſame day is opened the canal in Egypt.

7. Ten-

7. Teſchrin-al-ſual, or the firſt Teſchrin, 31 days.

In this month happens the Meherdgion of the Perſians, who reckon between this day, and the Nevrouz, 169 days. The Meherdgion is among thoſe people a feaſt, which they pretend to have been inſtituted to the memory of an eminent king, who was moſt powerful; and, as his death happened in the middle of the month Mehermak, they gave to the feaſt the name of Meherdgian. The 5th of this month, the Chriſtians celebrate in Jeruſalem a feaſt, which attracts a great concourſe of people to that town, becauſe the fire deſcends from heaven, and they light tapers at it. Many Muſſulmans go to ſee this feaſt. This day they cut a leaf of an olive tree. The Chriſtians tell many things of this fire; "It is," ſays the author, "a ſtratagem, of which "they make a great myſtery."

8. Teſchrin-al-aker, or Teſchrin 2, 30.

9. Kanoun-al-aoual, or Kanoun 1, 31.

The 17th of this month, the day is of nine hours and three quarters; it decreaſes no more;

more; the night is of fourteen hours and a quarter; it increaſes no more. The 25th is the birth of the Meſſiah, on whom may peace deſcend.

10. Kanoun-al-akher, or Kanoun 2, 31 days. The firſt of this month, is what they call Caloundas. In the night the Syrians light bonfires, chiefly at Antiochia.

11. Schébat. 28 days, and 29 every fourth year. The 7th of this month is the firſt Dgiamra*. The 14th, in the night, is the ſecond.

12. Adar, 31.

What the author ſays of the months of the Romans, which he calls by the proper names of January, &c. is of no uſe to us; and I confine myſelf to obſerving, that he gives to the firſt day of January, the name of Caloundas.

The months of the Perſians are all of thirty days, but their year is of 365; of which, we ſhall ſoon ſpeak.

1. Phervardin-mah. Its firſt day is called *Nevrouz*; between that day and the Meherdgian, they reckon 174 days †.

2. Adirbeheſcht-mah.

* Dgiamra ſignifies a fire coal. They call this a ceremony obſerved at the temple of Mecca; it is practiſed three times; and conſiſts in throwing ſtones, as it were, to chace the devil; but here it muſt be a ceremony of the Syrians.

† He ſaid, higher up, 169.

3. Khordad-

3. Khordad-mah.
4. Tir-mah.
5. Mordad-mah.
6. Schariour-mah.
7. Meher-mah. The 16th is the Meherdgian.
8. Aban-mah. In this month they celebrate, during five days, a great feaſt, named *Phardoudgian**.
9. Adar-mah. The firſt day they drive out the *Kouſadge* †, and the ſtrongeſt mules, which is practiſed in Erac, and in Perſia. In Syria, in the Dgeziré, and Egypt, this ceremony is not known. In Perſia, during ſeveral days, they eat dgiazar or ghezer, which word ſignifies both garlic and fat meat, to drive away the cold. It is a great feaſt among the Perſians.
10. Dei-mah.
11. Bahman-mah.
12. Eſphendarmadz-mah.

The Perſians give to every day of the month a particular name.

1. Hormodz.
2. Bahman.
3. Ardibeheſcht.
4. Scharivar.
5. Eſphendar-mou.
6. Khordad.
7. Mordad.

* Alpherghani obſerves, that thoſe five days are the epagomena which are placed between the month Aban-mah and Adarmah.

† *See*, on this ſubject, Hyde *de Rel. vet. Perſ.* new edit. p. 249.

7. Mordad.	19. Phervardin.
8. Dibadour.	20. Behram.
9. Adour.	21. Ram.
10. Aban.	22. Bad.
11. Khour.	23. Dibadin.
12. Mah.	24. Din.
13. Tir.	25. Ird.
14. Ghouſch.	26. Aſchtad.
15. Déibamihir.	27. Aſman.
16. Mihr.	28. Zamaid.
17. Souroſch.	29. Mariſphand.
18. Reſch.	30. Aniran.

They add to the year five days, which they call in general, Phouroudgian; and which, in particular, bear the following names: 1. *Ahnoud-gah*, 2. *Aſchnoud-gah*, 3. *Yamſgah*, 4. *Maſrougah*, 5. *Kaſah**.

The Perſians inſert in theſe 120 years, the fourth month, and then poſtpone the Nevrouz one month, (it is to bring up the quarter of a day) in order to avoid certain days, looked upon as unlucky.

The Arabians have a year of 354 days, which differs from that of the Syrians by eleven days and a quarter; but the ancient Arabians, who did not follow this method, intercalated every third year a month, which they called *Neſi*, that is to ſay, oblivion. Their months were relative to the ſeaſons, and the occupations of the people; but at preſent we are not aſſured enough of this relation to the ſeaſons.

* The author ſays, that the Arabians called them, 1. *Haïr.* 2. *Harir.* 3. *Caleb-al-abr.* (or *Phabr*). 4. *Haphel-al-Thoughn.* 5. *Moudhizah-al-boar.*

Mouhar-

1. *Mouharram**, alſo called *Taboud*†.

In this month they did not go to war; and it is for this reaſon that it has been called *Mouharram*, or *Sacred.*

2. Sepher or *Mouphaïl.*

Sepher ſignifies *void*, becauſe they went to war, and the towns were *void.*

3. Rabi-alaloual, or *Nadgir.*

4. Rabi-alaz-her, or *Aſmah.*

" In theſe two months they drove the animals into the fields; and this is the meaning of the word *Rebi.*

5. Dgioumadi-al-aouel, or *Amnah*:

Dgioumadi 1.

6. Dgioumadi-alak-her, *Adlah* or *Adled*;

or Dgioumadi 2.

In theſe two months the waters freeze, or are very cold. The author believes that there is a tranſpoſition of time for theſe months of the firſt column. Dgiamad ſignifies *frigidus conjectus.*

7. Redgeb, or *Laſaa.*

Regeb ſignifies *dread*, becauſe they were in dread in this month, which was one of the ſacred.

8. Schaaban, *Zaher.*

Becauſe of the aſſembly of the tribes.

* At preſent, thoſe months of the firſt column, that is to ſay, *Mouharram*, fall in all ſeaſons, becauſe the year of the Muſſulmans, which is looſe, has but 354 days.

† I have not met, any where elſe, with theſe ancient names of the Arabian months *Taboud*, *Mouphail*, &c.

9. Ramadhan,

9. Ramadhan, *Barth.*

Becauſe of the great heat.

10. Schoual, or *Naïs.*

Becauſe the animals fight, and therefore the ancient Arabians would never marry in this month.

11. Dhoulcaada, *Mouraïs.*

Becauſe they ceaſe then to make war.

12. Dhoul-hedgé, *Ouaphad.*

They went then on pilgrimage.

The ſacred months of the ancient Arabians were Mouharram, Redgeb, Dhoulcaada and Doulhedge. They had what we call *a week*, of which the firſt day was called *Aoual*, or *the firſt*; the ſecond day *Ahouan*, the third day *Dgiabbar*, the fourth day *Dibar*, the fifth day *Mounes*, the ſixth day *Arouba*, and the ſeventh *Shiar*. At preſent the Arabians give to our Sunday the name of the *firſt day*, becauſe God then began the creation; to Monday, that of the *ſecond*; to Tueſday, Wedneſday, and Thurſday, that of the *third*, *fourth*, and *fifth*; to Friday, the *day of the aſſembly*, becauſe the creatures aſſembled on that day; and to Saturday, that of *Sabt*, becauſe God reſted. The ancient Arabians had five ſeaſons, autumn, winter, two ſummers, *Saïf* and *Kibt*, and the ſpring.

Not to admit any thing concerning the method of reckoning the time among the Orientals, we will here add an æra which was peculiar to the Arabians, of which Maſoudi ſpeaks at the end of his liſt of the kings of Yemen. It is that of the elephant, or the maſters of the elephant, created on the occaſion of an irruption

ruption of the Ethiopians into Mecca. D'Herbelot ſpeaks of it at the word *Tarikh-al-fil*, or *Aſhab-al-fil*, and *Aſbrahah*; but he does not compare it with any other æra. Maſoudi informs us, that its firſt day is a Sunday, 16th of Mouharram, of the year 832 of Alexander, and the year 216 of the Arabian æra, the beginning of which is Hadget-al-ghadra, or Al-Phadr.

By this we ſee the relation of the æra of the elephant to that of Alexander, and with another Arabian æra which I know not.

After theſe details, Maſoudi treats, in a few words, of the phaſes of the moon; of the elements, and of the ſtars; he relates the ſpeculations ſome philoſophers have made on the duration of the world. Some of them contend, ſays he, that *power* is now in the ſeed, (of the Virgin) and that the power laſts 7000 years: this muſt therefore be the age of the world in which we live. The ſeed aſſiſts Mouſchtari, or Jupiter, in the government of the univerſe. They pretend that the end of the world muſt happen when the circle of the ruling ſtars will be accompliſhed; that then all will recommence as heretofore. They think that the power of Aries is for 12,000 years; that of Taurus 11,000; of Gemini, 10,000; Cancer, 9000; Leo, 8000; Virgo, 7000; Libra, 6000; Scorpio, 5000; Sagittarius, 4000; Capricorn, 3000; Aquarius, 2000; Piſces, 1000. There are ſome who pretend, that at the renewal, all will be in the ſame ſhape as before; others the reverſe; that what had been north would be

be ſouth, and that what was inhabited would be uninhabitable.

Maſoudi ſpeaks alſo in this place, of the extent and diſtance of ſeveral countries, but we poſtone theſe details to the end of this account, alſo the meaſure of the earth; and ſhall take a view of the chronological table, which cloſes this part of the ancient hiſtory. Maſoudi aſſures us, that he has taken theſe epochas from the books of the Magi, which he had before him; works which we do not know, and probably never ſhall know. Theſe magi, ſays he, had written their own hiſtory, and that of other nations, and have treated of the beginning and end of the world; ſeveral among them maintain that it had no beginning, and that it ſhall never have an end; others, that it ſhall have an end, though it had not a beginning. Maſoudi, who had travelled all over the eaſt, was in a capacity of ſeeing thoſe books which exiſted at this time, though perhaps ſince deſtroyed.

Some of the magi reckon (MS. 599. A.) from Zoroaſter, ſon of Eſpentaman, to Alexander, 280 or 250 years.

Alexander reigned ſix years.

From Alexander to Ardſchir (or Artaxexes I.) 564 years.

From Adam to the Hegira, 6126 years.

From Adam to the deluge, 2256 years.

From the deluge to the birth of Abraham, 1079 years.

From the birth of Abraham to Moſes, (aged 80 years) when he went out of Egypt, 565 years.

From

From the departure out of Egypt, to the fourth year of the reign of Solomon, who built the temple of Jeruſalem, 636 years.

From the building of the temple of Jeruſalem, to the reign of Alexander, 717 years.

From Alexander, to the birth of the Meſſiah, 369 years.

From the birth of the Meſſiah, to that of the prophet Mahomet, 525 years.

From the reſurrection of the Meſſiah, aged 33 years, to the diſappearing of the prophet, 546 years.

Between the miſſion of the Meſſiah and the Hegira, 594 years.

The death of the prophet happened the year 935 of Alexander.

From David to Mahomet, 1702 years, 6 months, 10 days.

From Abraham to Mahomet, 2726 years, 6 months, 10 days.

From Noah to Mahomet, 3720 years, 10 days.

The total from Adam to the miſſion of the prophet, 4011 years, 6 months, 10 days.

From Adam to the preſent time, that is to ſay, to the year 332 of the Hegira, when the khalif Mottaki Billah repaired from Egypt to Racca, 5156 years.

We confine ourſelves to the pointing out of theſe different epochas, as we find them in the Arabian author from whom we give this account; it is the province of the learned to examine them. It is not conſiſtent with our plan to diſcuſs the opinions we meet with in the Oriental writers, nor to explain the difficul-

ties which may be found in their writings; a ſingle author would then often employ us too long.

I thought proper to ſuppreſs in this part of our account, what Maſoudi reports of the temples among the Perſians, Arabians, Greeks, Romans, &c. He ſcarcely gives a deſcription of any of thoſe monuments, and the little he ſays of them is loaded with fables. The learned may conſult his work, but the details he enters into, ſeem to me uſeleſs to the generality of readers. At the end of this article, the copy of the manuſcript, No. 599, ſays, he finiſhed his copy on a Friday, the tenth day of Mouharram, the year of the Hegira 964, of Jeſus Chriſt 1556. The manuſcript 598, much leſs diffuſive, has been written at Sephed, in the month of Mouharram, in the year of the Hegira 974, and of Jeſus Chriſt 1668. In the latter of theſe manuſcripts, they have left blanks for all the titles to be written with red ink, which is the reaſon it is ſo difficult to find out what is ſought for there.

It remains that we ſhould ſpeak of the latter part of the work of Maſoudi, which comprehends the hiſtory of the khalifs; it is found only in the MS. 599 A, and is the natural conſequence of what has gone before; but it is not ſuch as we ſhould have wiſhed. The author, in conformity to the title of "Mouroudg-ed-"dhabab, or the Golden Meadows," which he has given his work, conſiders it only as a meadow enamelled with a variety of flowers ſcattered without order; but he is the leſs cenſurable in this reſpect, as he has compoſed two other hiſtorical works, the one intitled *Akhbar-az-Zaman*, the other *Ketab-al-aouſath*, which

which contain the hiſtory of the ancient and modern times, where he relates the tranſactions with greater extent, and to which he refers very often in this; which is the reaſon why he commonly abridges his recital, and does not even make mention of ſome of the great events; therefore, this work ought only to be conſidered as a collection of particular memoirs, or rather as anecdotes of the lives of the khalifs. In this view he may be uſeful to any writer who might attempt an hiſtory of thoſe princes. Generally, the Arabian hiſtorians do not deſcribe the tranſactions and events with the extent and perſpicuity we require; and it is neceſſary to conſult many of them to unite the different circumſtances which they relate. Thus thoſe anecdotes of Maſoudi, if placed at the end of the great tranſactions which precede them, and of which they are conſequent, will ſerve to give a greater intereſt to his work, whereas they are unconnected; and to underſtand them, it is abſolutely neceſſary to know what has given occaſion for them, which in this account would compel us to inquiries that might carry us too far. Thus we ſhall not be ſo copious on this part as we deſigned; elſewhere, we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of other hiſtorians, in whoſe writings the ſubjects may be more copious and rich. The work that now employs us, is but an abridgment, on which it is uſeleſs to dwell; but in this abridgment the author, convinced of the neceſſity that a preciſe knowledge of the chronology is neceſſary to hiſtory, fixes, with the greateſt care, the principal dates of the reigns of the khalifs, and ſays, he has conſulted for that purpoſe, the beſt documents.

ments. This part of the book of Maſoudi ſeems to us not to be beneath the attention of thoſe that apply themſelves to the Oriental hiſtory. His exactneſs is perceptible in examining the books of the Magi, Nabatheans, and Chriſtians, to make known the different epochas of ancient hiſtory. He has uſed the ſame care with that of the khalifs, and concludes his work independent of the epochas of each khalif, with a chronological table of thoſe princes, in which he marks the different opinions of the chronologiſts, when he has any difficulties or doubts.

He begins with the birth of Mohammed, alias Ahmed; relates his genealogy, as alſo that of his mother, whom he traces back to Adam by a ſeries of perſonages, whoſe names he records. All hiſtorians agree on the generations, in recounting from Mahomet to Adnan, the 20th of his anceſtors; but they differ with reſpect to thoſe that were prior to Adnan. Maſoudi refers to his great work about what particularly concerns the latter.

The hiſtory of Mahomet is ſufficiently known to us. M. Gagnier has given in England the moſt particular account of the life of this legiſlator of the Muſſulmans, and has therein collected all the Arabian traditions. Dr. Prideaux has alſo publiſhed an hiſtory, but more abridged; we find likewiſe in different tranſlations of the Alcoran, inquiries more or leſs extenſive on this pretended prophet, ſo that Maſoudi can hardly give us any new accounts. However, he makes mention of all the hardſhips Mahomet experienced in his miſſion, and of the neceſſity he found himſelf

ſelf under of abandoning Mecca, to take refuge in Medina, which he calls the Hegira or flight, and is now become the æra of the Muſſulmans, and of which he makes the firſt year anſwer to the 32d of Khoſrou-Peruiz, king of Perſia, to the ninth of Heraclius, king of the Chriſtians, (emperor of Conſtantinople) and to the 933d of Alexander. The Muſſulman writers are not ſtrictly agreed upon the duration of his life. According to ſome he lived 60 years; according to others 63; and to others 65.

Mahomet, had for his ſucceſſor, Aboubakr; afterwards Omar, Othman, Aly, and Haſſan, reigned, not by right of kindred, but by election of the people. The author refers us for details always to his great work, and dwells only on particular circumſtances, for which he often relates the very words of different perſons, and frequently the verſes of ſeveral Arabian poets, when they have any reference thereto. Theſe recitals are merely converſations, conſequently little intereſting to us, though they are often ſo to a Muſſulman, as they reſpect his religion; frequently they are only little tales and adventures among the domeſtics, and officers of the khalifs, reported at ſome length; and even dreams are inſerted.

The author remarks, in ſpeaking of Omar, that he was the firſt to whom the title of *Emir-al-Moumenin*, or, *Prince of the Faithful*, was given, and the firſt for whom they prayed under that title in the pulpits of the moſques. We ſhall remark, on this occaſion, that at prayers in the moſques, they uſed the *Khothba*, a kind of diſcourſe, in which, after they had given praiſe to God and to the prophet, they named the reigning

khalif, and this nomination was the firſt mark of his ſovereignty; a practice which was obſerved at all times in that empire; and the ſuppreſſion of his name announced a revolt. When Egypt, which had been conquered by Omar, ceaſed to acknowledge the khalifs of Bagdad, the uſurper curſed the khalif from the pulpit, who, on his part, at Bagdad, cauſed him who had taken up arms againſt him in that country, to be curſed in return, and himſelf to be proclaimed khalif.

Omar made great conqueſts, the principal of which was Egypt. Maſoudi does not ſpeak of it, "because," ſays he, "I have made mention of it in my "book, *Akhbar-az-Zaman*," and that I collect in this only a few anecdotes that have eſcaped me. From hence we may judge of this work. The reign of Aly was full of diſſentions, which occaſioned a ſchiſm among the Muſſulmans; but ſupplied Maſoudi with many details of little moment, which we do not think worthy to be tranſcribed; it would be in truth conducting the reader through the barren deſerts of Arabia: but many of them are intereſting to Muſſulmans, becauſe thoſe that act therein, are the heroes of their religion, of whom they are inquiſitive even after the moſt trifling actions. It is known that the khalifs were both the pontifs of Muſſulmaniſm and the ſovereigns of the nation; that they united the two powers, ſpiritual and temporal.

To the death of Aly and Haſſan the empire had been elective; but it became hereditary under Moavia, ſon of Abou-Saphiam, who ſucceeded them, and who is the firſt of the family of the Ommiades.

He

He was proclaimed khalif the forty-firſt year of the Hegira (of Jeſus Chriſt 661). The two princes, his ſucceſſors, veſted with both powers, extended their empire from Spain and Africa as far as India, of which they ſubdued ſome countries. The Muſſulman religion was eſtabliſhed in all thoſe regions, and the devout Muſſulmans carried it even farther. In the interior part, this empire was agitated by wars, which the partiſans of Aly and his poſterity carried on. This dynaſty of the Ommiades was at laſt ſtripped of the empire it had poſſeſſed (as Maſoudi ſays) for 1000 months complete, without any addition or diminution, which makes 90 years, 11 months, and 13 days; or, according to others, 91 years, 9 months, 13 days; including the reign of Abdallah, ſon of Zobaïr, which laſted 7 years, 10 months, and 3 days.

In the year 132 of the Hegira, (of Jeſus Chriſt 749) the Abbaſſides ſucceeded to the Ommiades. Aboul-abbas-abdallah, who was of the family of Mahomet, is the firſt of theſe princes. He was upon his pilgrimage to Mecca, when he was proclaimed khalif. On the day of his proclamation, one Daoad, ſon of Aly, aſcended the pulpit at Koufa, and harangued the people aſſembled in a few words. "*People of Koufa,*" ſays he, "*there exiſts among you an Iman moſt elevated,* "*ſucceſſor of the ambaſſador of God; it is the ſon of* "*Abou-thaleb; he is among you; it is Aboul-abbas-as-*"*ſaffah.*" All theſe ſort of harangues, which the Arabians made to the people, are ſhort. Aboul-abbas repaired to the moſque on Friday, and held the

khothba or diſcourſe from the pulpit. It was then the cuſtom that the khalifs themſelves mounted the pulpit; where, after having made the ordinary prayers to God and to the prophet, they announced to the people what they had to communicate to them. The Ommiades performed this ceremony ſeated; Aboulabbas did it ſtanding, an action that was agreeable to the people. He then promiſed to watch over their defence, and to do them ſervice; and Daoad, his uncle, who was behind him, added, "There has not "been among you, ſince the prophets, a khalif, or "commander of the faithful, greater or more exalted "than this." They both deſcended, and went afterwards againſt the Ommiades, who ſtill maintained themſelves in Syria; the latter were vanquiſhed, and a great ſlaughter was made among them. This prince built the town of Bagdad, which from this time became the capital of the empire of the Muſſulmans.

Theſe khalifs cauſed the ſciences to flouriſh in their dominions, and a great number of Greek books to be tranſlated into Arabic. The learned and the poets (for the Arabians were always fond of poetry) had acceſs to them, and were admitted to their company. Theſe princes did not affect great pomp in their veſtments: the Abbaſſides were dreſſed in black. Maſoudi remarks, that the khalif Motaz, who was proclaimed anno 252 of the Hegira, (of Jeſus Chriſt 866) was the firſt who appeared on horſeback with ornaments of gold; all his predeceſſors, as well as the Ommiades, had worn ſilver only. He uſed great magnificence

magnificence in his cloaths, and his ſubjects imitated his example; but he was depoſed afterwards, and periſhed miſerably in a cellar, where he had been abandoned. Luxury and effeminacy finiſhed the ruin of theſe princes, who eaſed themſelves of the care of government, by an officer which they created, and reſembles our mayors of the palace, which reduced the khalifs to the mere function of the prieſthood, without any other authority: they no longer received tribute.

Maſoudi brings down theſe hiſtorical miſcellanies to his own time; that is, to the reign of Mothibillah, proclaimed khalif in the year of the Hegira 334, and of Jeſus Chriſt 945. This, in a few words, is the ſtate of the Arabian empire, which ſubſiſted no more in this nation. Strangers (Muſſulmans, it is true) made themſelves maſters of ſeveral provinces; ſo that it might be called, with more propriety, the empire of the Muſſulmans. Syria was then ravaged, and in part over-run by ſectaries, called *Carmathes*. The reſt of this country, with Egypt, were under the juriſdiction of princes named *Ikhſchidites*. The predeceſſor of Mothi had loſt Bagdad, and was thrown into a priſon, where he had been deprived of ſight; and many other khalifs had been expoſed to ſimilar treatment. The Bouides princes had ſtripped them of all the eaſtern provinces towards Perſia. Mothi, though reſiding in Bagdad, did not enjoy any authority; he had not even a vizier of his own nomination; an officer placed by the Bouides performed that office. Theſe Bouides, are originally from the province

province of Dilem; deſcended, according to the hiſtorians, from the ancient kings of Perſia. Maſoudi tells us, that there were in this province a conſiderable number of magi; they are the ſame which we call now *Ghebres*, or *worſhippers of the fire:* they had fortified themſelves in the mountains, where they were poſſeſſed of ſeveral forts. About the year 301 of the Hegira, (of Jeſus Chriſt 913) a perſonage named *Athrouſch*, deſcending from Aly, ſon of Abou-thaleb, repaired to Thabareſtan and Dilem, where he preached Mahomedaniſm: many of theſe magi embraced it, and they built moſques in their countries. The Muſſulmans were at that time maſters of the frontiers; that is, of the towns of Caſwin, Salous, and ſome others. There was in the town of Schalaſch a very ſtrong caſtle, which was the reſidence of the kings of Perſia; Athrouſch introduced Mahomedaniſm there, and went ſo far as to obtain its demolition. The Khoraſan was then ruled by a prince named Akmed, ſon of Iſmaïl, who came to make himſelf maſter of it, as well as Caſwin, Zendgiar, Com, and other places. The Bouides, who occupied Perſia, overcame the princes that reigned in Dilem. Africa and Spain were in the hands of a branch of the family of the Ommiades, which had eſtabliſhed themſelves there. Baſra, Vaſeth, and Ahouaz, were belonging to the Baridians; Mouſoul, the provinces of Diarrabia, and of Diarbekr, to the Hamadanites. The khalifs, proud of the title of pontif and iman, knew no longer how to command their armies. In the midſt of ſo many tempeſts, the khalif paſſed his life in effeminacy

feminacy and pleaſures, in expectation that a revolution would ſoon put another in his place. They were never after able to re-eſtabliſh themſelves; and the only mark of authority of which they were not diveſted, was that of the prieſthood; they were forced to give the inveſtiture of provinces when they were demanded; a cuſtom which was become neceſſary to maintain the people in obedience to the new ſovereign; and a refuſal on ſuch an occaſion often cauſed the depoſition of a khalif.

In collecting the little details related by Maſoudi, which are many, a writer that would compile the hiſtory of the khalifs, would be enabled perfectly to learn the character of theſe princes, and that of their officers; but he would have much to ſuppreſs. Maſoudi marks alſo, from time to time, the perſonages that have diſtinguiſhed themſelves in ſciences and religion. What he ſays is ſufficient to a Muſſulman already inſtructed; but often he does not ſay enough to make us acquainted with them. At the end of this hiſtory, he ſubjoins a chronological table of the khalifs, which will be ſeen at the concluſion of this account; and gives the catalogues of ſeveral diſtinguiſhed perſonages who have made the pilgrimage of Mecca unintereſting to us. He ends his work, according to the cuſtom of the Muſſulmans, with the praiſes of God and thoſe of the prophet.

The copyiſt ſays, "I have finiſhed writing this "manuſcript 599 A. the 21ſt of the month Rabi-al-"akher, of the year 1109 of the Hegira, (of Jeſus "Chriſt 1697.)"

Meaſure

Meaſure of the Earth, reported by Maſoudi.

Aſtronomical obſervations, and particularly thoſe which concern the meaſure of the earth, undertaken at different times, by order of ſeveral ſovereigns, appear to us objects too important to be neglected in theſe accounts; but we have poſtponed them in order to avoid interrupting the narration. We ſhall ſubjoin the diſtances of places, and their itinerary meaſures, which are ſo little known, becauſe of the variations in different countries, and different ages. The Arabs have reckoned by miles, from whence they have preſerved, in their language, the word *mil*, by cubits, by fingers, and by grains: they have alſo a meaſure, which comprizes a day's journey: this, they call *manzalé*, or ſtation, but they have no clear idea of a *foot*. M. Picard, in a collection of different works of mathematics and phyſic, of the Royal Academy of Sciences, printed at the Loure, in 1693, folio, has given ſome firſt eſſays on theſe meaſures. He cites the teſtimony of an Arabian author, named Hapan, which makes the circumference of the earth 24,000 *mil:* this, M. Picard extends to Alexandrian miles, compoſed of ſeven furlongs and an half, or five hundred Alexandrian feet. He again cites Aboulfeda, who ſays, that five hundred furlongs make ſixty-ſix *mil* two-thirds. M. Picard ſuppoſes, that theſe are Alexandrian furlongs, from whence he concludes, that the Arabian mile is ſeven furlongs and an half, and that an Arabian and Alexandrian mile are the ſame; the latter, according to him, is compoſed

poſed of four thouſand five hundred Alexandrian feet, and the Arabian mile of ſix thouſand Arabian feet; from whence he concludes, that the Alexandrian foot is, to an Arabian foot, as four is to three. Edward Barnard has alſo given a treatiſe, *de Menſuris et Ponderibus Orientalium*, after M. d'Anville.

In a ſmall work on itinerary meaſures, he there ſpeaks much of the Arabian meaſures; but he is not always acquainted with the proportions and relations they bear to each other, eſpecially as it appears that thoſe meaſures have undergone many alterations. It is then neceſſary, in order to fix our ideas on them, to relate in theſe accounts, all that the Arabian authors, according to their different ages, can furniſh us on this ſubject, as we ſhall review them. I ſhall give here what I have found in Maſoudi. This writer relates, with ſome extent, the meaſurement of the earth, made under the khalifat of Almamoun. We have been ignorant until now, in what country the aſtronomers of his time have made this operation. Maſoudi tells us that it was between Racca and Palmyra. Our aſtronomers ſuppoſe it was elſewhere; and Golius, in his notes on Alfragan, inſinuates that it was towards Neſibin, more to the north. After the recital of Maſoudi, it appears that theſe conjectures are not well founded. M. le Monnier, of the Academy of Sciences, anxious to contribute to our labours, has kindly undertaken to examine this meaſurement of the earth, and to communicate to us his reflections, which we inſert after the text. We ſhall add,

add, at the ſame time, at the bottom of the pages ſome notes, which have appeared to us neceſſary.

" Under the khalifat of Mamoun, (who died anno " 833 of Jeſus Chriſt) there was an obſervation of the " ſun made in the deſart of Sangiar, depending on the " province called Diar-rabia, and they found, that " the meaſure of a degree of the ſurface of the earth " was fifty-ſix miles*. They multiplied that mea- " ſure of a degree†, by three hundred; it reſulted " that the circumference of the earth was 20,060 " miles; this they multiplied by ſeven, and found " 140,420, which they divided by twenty-two, " whence reſulted a quotient, that gave the meaſure " of the earth's diameter, viz. 6,414 miles, and about " the half of ten. The half of the diameter of the " earth is 3,207 miles.

" The ſixteen dakika, (a ſort of minutes) are a " quarter of a mile, and the quarter of a tenth part of

* Aboulfedha, cited by M. d'Anville, *Meaſures Itineraires*, page 38, eſtimates a degree fifty-ſix miles and two-thirds. We may conſult the notes of Golius Alphergani, page 71, and following, on this meaſure of the Arabians. But Maſoudi preſents circumſtances which he has not.

† To proceed to this meaſure, agreeable to Aboulfedha, the aſtronomers, after having exactly taken the elevation of the pole, at the place whence they were to depart, divided themſelves into two bands; the one proceeded towards the north, and the other towards the ſouth, each following, exactly, the line from which they had departed, until thoſe that walked northward perceived that the pole roſe, and thoſe that went on toward the ſouth, ſaw that it deſcended a degree. They returned then to the place whence they had departed, and comparing what they had found, theſe had fifty-ſix miles and one-third, and the others fifty-ſix miles, without a fraction. They took the greater, namely, the fifty-ſix miles and one-third of a mile.

" a mile.

" a mile. The mile is of 4000 cubits, and thoſe " which are called *aſouad*, (or black cubits) eſta- " bliſhed by the khalif Mamoun, to meaſure ſtuffs, " buildings, and roads.—The cubit is of 120 " fingers*."

On this text M. le Monnier obſerves, Firſt, that inſtead of 300, we ſhould read 360: it is perhaps the error of the copyiſt.

Second, Fifty-ſix multiplied by 300, gives a product of 20,160, and not 20,060 miles, as it ſtands in the text; another error of the copyiſt, who has forgot the hundred.

Third, *They divided by* 22. The ordinary rule, or that of Archimedes, is to find the eſtimation of the diameter of a circle, that is to ſay, as 22 is to 7, ſo is 20,160 miles to the fourth member. Now we have juſt hinted, that 20,160, multiplied by ſeven, gives 141,120 to the product; which divided by 22, would yield but a quotient of 6414 6-11ths, which comes pretty near to what we find above, viz. 6414 miles, and the half of ten, or the fraction 6-11ths.

A little lower, Maſoudi relates the ſentiment of Ptolemy, on the meaſure of the circumference of the earth, fixed at 24,000 miles; its diameter at 7636 miles. " They came to this knowledge," ſays he,

* M. de Anville *Meaſures Iteneraires*, page 37. *and foll.* diſtinguiſhes three cubits among the Arabians; *the ancient* of 32 fingers, the *common* of 24; the *black* of 27. He does not ſpeak of this, of 120 fingers: he thinks it is the common that was uſed in the meaſurement of the earth, under Almamoun, and is willing to refute Golius, who is conformable to Maſoudi. M. d'Anville cites often Arabian authors, without naming the book in which he has found the text.

" by

" by taking the elevation of the north pole, in two " towns ſituated on the ſame meridian of the equi- " noctial line; as, one ſide Tadmor*, (Palmyra) in

* Abulfedha, cited by M. Schultens in his *Index Geographicus in vitam Saladini*, puts between Palmyra and Damaſcus 59 miles; between Palmyra and Rebba 102 miles.

As it is of importance to fix the poſition of this place, M. le Monnier has examined what has been ſaid of Palmyra, in the Philoſophical Tranſactions, No. 217; where we find the relation of the journey of William Hallifax, addreſſed to M. Bernard.

" Departing on St. Michael's day, 1691, from Aleppo, they employed ſix days in croſſing the deſert to Palmyra. They almoſt continually directed their way ſouthward, with a ſmall deviation towards the eaſt. Arriving at that town, they took ſome notice of a caſtle, diſtant about half an hour's walk.

" After four days ſtay, they returned by a different way; they advanced eaſtward as far as the Euphrates, and to reach this ſtream, they employed at firſt three days, paſſing through a village named Thire. Having arrived the ſame night at the Euphrates, they croſſed it two days after. They then reſided two nights, and employed two days returning to Aleppo. The whole journey laſted ten days."

At No. 218 of the ſame Tranſactions, we find another journey from Aleppo to Tadmor, begun the 18th of July 1678, and ended the 29th of the ſame month. The travellers had compaſſes, and having ſettled their route, they fixed the diſtance from Aleppo to Tadmor at 150 miles. The direction being ſouth-ſouth-eaſt, or rather ſomewhat more inclined to the ſouth, becauſe of the variation of the needle, which was half a point, or thereabouts, three degrees three quarters more weſtward in thoſe countries.

At the Article III. of the Tranſactions, Halley ſpeaks of Aleppo and ſome other places, which, ſays he, are placed by Ptolemæus, at the thirty-ſixth degree, whereas the meridian elevation of the tropic, or Summer ſolſtice, has been deemed to be of 77 degrees in 1680, which gives but 36 degrees 20 minutes; or more exactly, 36 degrees 12 minutes; which agree within three quarters of a degree. A great error in Kepler, who ſuppoſed that Aleppo was the ancient Antiochia at the foot of Mount Taurus, the latitude of which is preſented in the Rudolphian tables, by 37 degrees 20 minutes; which has been adopted by ſeveral, without ſpeaking of Carteſius, who have copied that error.

" the

" the deſert, which is between Perſia and Syria; and " on the other, the town of Racca. They found " that the elevation of the pole in the town of Racca*, " was 85 parts and a third, and in that of Tadmor, " 84 parts; which makes one part and a third dif- " ference. They meaſured the interval between " Racca and Tadmor, and found it 37 miles."

In another place of Maſoudi, there is alſo the following text, which reſpects the ſame ſubject: " The " equinoctial line, which goes from eaſt to weſt, is " what they call *thoul*, or the length of the earth. " There is alſo the Zodiac circle *Ardh*, or its breadth, " which is taken from the ſouthern pole, about which " the ſtars, called *Benatnaaſch*, or *the daughters of the* " *coffin*, are turning;" (theſe are the ſtars of the Great " Bear, ſo we ſhould therefore read *northern* inſtead " *ſouthern*)."

The circuit of the earth, at the equinoctial line, is 36 degrees†.

The degree is of 25 paraſangs.

The paraſang of 12,000 *dheraa*, or cubits.

The *dheraa* of forty-two fingers.

* Racca is ſituated on the Euphrates, almoſt directly to the north of Palmyra. The latter is at the weſt of the Euphrates. M. Schultens cites various Arabian authors, who aver that Mecca lies on the weſt ſhore of the Euphrates, between which and Harran, there is three days journey.

† Six and thirty degrees. I doubt whether there is not an error of the copyiſts here. They may have divided the ſphere in 36 great portions, as the Chaldeans had 36 *decani*, and each of theſe great portions might have been divided in ten parts, which are what Maſoudi calls *dgiezz*, or *ſections*.

The finger, of ſeven grains and two-ninths, ranged the one on the ſide of the other.

That forms 9000 paraſangs, viz. the thirty-ſix degrees or portions.

Finally, to ſum up all we find in Maſoudi, concerning meaſures, we ſhall alſo tranſcribe what he ſays of the diſtance of ſeveral countries, and of their extent: meaſures, which he affirms he has taken from a book, intituled, *Ketab-ez-zidge*, and in a poem on the figure of ſtars; the works of Alphazari, or Gazari.

From Pherghana, and the frontiers of the Khoradan to Thounſgia, in Africa, 3700 paraſangs.

The breadth of Bab-al-abouab, (Derbend) to Gedda, 600 paraſangs.

From Bab-al-abouab to Bagdad, 300 paraſangs.

From Mecca to Gedda, 32 miles.

The extent of China in the eaſt, 32,000 paraſangs, by 21,000.

The country of Hind (India) in the eaſt, of 11,000 paraſangs, by 7000.

The extent of Thibet, 500 paraſangs, by 230.

The extent of the country Babel-ſchah, of 400 paraſangs, by 60.

The extent of the country of Barghar in the Turkeſtan, 1500 paraſangs.

The extent of the country of Khacan of the Turks, 700 paraſangs, above 500.

The country of Khozars and of the Lan, 700 paraſangs.

The country of Bardjian, 1500 paraſangs by 300.

Theſe

Theſe countries are omitted in the manuſcript 599, A.

The extent of the country of Sekhab, or Sclavonia, 3500 paraſangs by 420.

The extent of the country of Roum, 3000 paraſangs by 700.

The extent of the country of Andalous, (Spain) belonging to Abderrahman, 300 paraſangs by 80.

The extent of the country belonging to Edris-alphathemi, 1200 paraſangs by 120.

The extent of the country of Phès, belonging to Mountaſer, 400 paraſangs by 80.

The extent of the country of Ségelmeſſe, 2500 paraſangs by 600.

The extent of the country of Ghabé, which is the land of gold, 1000 paraſangs by 80.

The extent of the country Ouaram, 200 paraſangs by 80.

The extent of the country of Nakhla (the Palm-trees) 120 paraſangs by 60.

The extent of the country of Aoudge, 60 paraſangs by 40.

The extent of the country of Badgia, 200 paraſangs by 80.

The extent of the country of Nouba, or of Nadgiaſchi, (emperor of Ethiopia) 1500 paraſangs by 400.

The extent of the country of the Zinges towards the weſt, and of Mama towards the eaſt, 1600 paraſangs by 250.

The whole length is 72,480 paraſangs, the breadth 25,250 paraſangs.

Beſides a knowledge of meaſures, this table ſerves alſo to give us an idea of the different kingdoms exſting at that time, and which were known to the Arabians; but it is clear they have been but indifferently inſtructed concerning Europe. To complete in this place all we can find at preſent upon Arabian meaſures, we ſhall ſubjoin here a text of Ebn-al-ouardi, whoſe work he has conſulted. The meaſures of his time ſeem to differ from thoſe of the time of Maſoudi. He quotes the Almageſt of Ptolemeus, on the meaſure of the earth, and relates that, agreeable to this Greek writer, the circumference of the earth is 180,000 ſtadia, which are, ſays he, 24,000 miles, or 8000 paraſangs; the paraſang conſiſting of three miles. The mile is of 3000 dheraa or melikeen, that is to ſay, royal cubits. This cubit is of three *aſchbar* or *palms*; each *aſchbar* is of twelve fingers, each finger is of five *ſchaira*, or grains of barley, ranged in a ſucceſſive order; and each ſchaira is of ſix hairs of a mule. The ſtadium is compoſed of 400,000 dheraa, or cubits.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE, OF THE KHALIFS, ACCORDING TO MASOUDI.

As Maſoudi has related with the greateſt care, and after the moſt ſcrupulous examination, the different epochas of the inſtallations and deaths of the khalifs, their ages, &c. which is very rarely to be found elſewhere ſo collected; and as it is neceſſary to be acquainted with thoſe princes to underſtand theſe accounts, I thought

I thought proper to place, at the end of this piece, a ſeries of the khalifs, as it is to be found in his work. It will ſerve to inform us, that although as yet we are little acquainted with the Oriental hiſtory, we are far from believing it ſubject to ſo many difficulties.

MAHOMET.

The fourteenth year of his miſſion is the firſt year of the Hegira. The tenth was that of his death. We have ſpoken more at large of him in the courſe of this account.

ABOUBEKR AS-SADIC; OR, THE JUST.

He was proclaimed khalif, or vicar of Mahomet, in the cavern of the children of Saïda, (Beni Saïda) on Monday, the day of Mahomet's death.

He died in the night of Tueſday, the 8th day before the end of the month Dgioumadi-al-akher, the thirteenth year of the Hegira, in his ſixty-third year. He was born the third year of the Elephant (a kind of æra among the ancient Arabians): he reigned two years, three months, ten days. He was interred near the prophet. According to the report of Aïſcha, wife of Mahomet, and daughter of Aboubekr, he reigned two years, three months 20 days*.

OMAR.

He ſucceeded to Aboubekr; but at the beginning of the twenty-third year of the Hegira, while he was travelling on his pilgrimage to Mecca, he was killed

* In his chronological table, at the end of the work, Maſoudi gives him two years, three months, eight days; which makes twelve years, five months, eight days of the Hegira.

at the time of morning prayer, by Phirouz-Abouloulou, ſlave of Mogaïra, on a Wedneſday, the fourth day before the end of *Dhoulhedgé:* he reigned ten years, ſix months, four nights*: aged ſixty-three years. He was interred with the prophet, near Aboubekr, having made nine times the pilgrimage to Mecca.

Othman, *ſon of* Affan.

He was proclaimed on a Friday, the beginning of the moon of the month Dhoulhedge: he reigned twelve years wanting eight days†, and was ſixty-two years of age. He was buried at Medina.

Aly, *ſon of* Abouthaleb.

He was proclaimed on the day of Othman's aſſaſſination. He reigned four years, nine months, eight days; others ſay, nine months, wanting one day; or, according to others, five years, three months, and ſeven nights‡. He was aged ſixty-three years when he was killed, in the year 40. Some ſay, that he was buried in the moſque of Koufa; others at Medina, near Phathima, daughter of Mahomed.

Hassan, *ſon of* Aly.

He was proclaimed khalif, at Koufa, two days after the death of his father, in the month of Ramad-

* In the chronological table, ten years, ſix months, nineteen days; which makes twenty-two years of the Hegira.

† In the chronological table, eleven years, eleven months, 19 days.

‡ In the chronological table, he reigned four years, ſeven months; which make of the Hegira thirty-nine years, eight months, ſeventeen days; and till the proclamation of Moavia, ſon of Abou-ſophian, ſix months and three days; it is of the Hegira, forty years, two months, twenty days.

han,

han, the year 40 of the Hegira. He was poiſoned at the age of fifty-five years, the fifth day before the end of the month Rabi, in the year 41*.

DYNASTY OF THE KHALIFS OMMIADES.

MOAVIA, *ſon of* ABOU-SOPHIAN.

He was proclaimed in the month Schoual, in the year 41, at Jeruſalem: he reigned nineteen years, eight months†, and died in the month Redgeb, in the year 61, aged eighty. He was buried at Damaſcus, where his tomb is ſtill to be ſeen.

YEZID, *ſon of* MOAVIA.

He ſucceeded to his father, and reigned three years, eight months, wanting eight nights‡: he died at Haouraïn, in the country of Damaſcus, the ſeventeenth of Sépher, in the year 64, aged thirty-three years.

MOAVIA, *ſon of* YEZID.

He ſucceeded to his father, and died, having reigned only forty days§.

* This is not named in the chronological table; it was a time of quarrels; and his ſovereignty was diſputed.

† In the chronological table, nineteen years, three months, twenty-five days; which makes fifty-nine years, ſix months, and twenty-five days of the Hegira.

‡ In the ſame table, three years eight months.

§ In the ſame table, three months, two-and-twenty-days.

ABDALLAH, *ſon of* ZOBAIR; *and* MEROUAN, *ſon of* HAKAM.

They reigned together; Merouan four months; Abdallah, ſon of Zobaïr, eight years, five months.

ABDOLMALIK, *ſon of* MEROUAN,

Reigned one year, two months, ſix days, till Abdallah, ſon of Zobaïr, was killed: then, alone, twelve years, four months, five days.

He was proclaimed the night of a Sunday, the firſt day of the moon, of the month Ramadhan, in the year 65 of the Hegira. He ſent Hedgiage, ſon of Youſouph, againſt Abdallah, ſon of Zobaïr, who was at Mecca. Abdallah was killed on Tueſday, ten of Dgioumadi-al-akher, of the year 73, after having reigned nine years, ten nights.

OUALID, *ſon of* ABDOL-MALIK,

Was proclaimed at Damaſcus, the day of his father's death. He died in the ſame town, in the middle of the month Dgioumadi-al-akher, in the year 96, having reigned nine years, eight months*, two nights. At his death he was forty-three years of age.

SOLIMAN, *ſon of* ABDOL-MALIK,

He was proclaimed at Damaſcus, the day of the deceaſe of Oualid, on a Saturday, in the middle of the month Dgioumadi-al-akher, in the year 96. He died in the meadow of Dabec, on the territory of the mountains of Kennaſerin, on Friday, the twentieth

* In the chronological table, nine years, twenty-ſeven days.

of

of Sepher, in the year 99. He reigned two years, eight months, five nights*; aged at his death thirty-nine years.

According to others, he died on Friday the tenth day of Sepher, in the year 99; and reigned two years, nine months, and eight days. They do not agree upon his age: ſome give him forty-five years, others fifty-three. The author, after having conſulted thoſe that were acquainted with the births of thoſe at Damaſcus, has adopted thirty-nine years.

OMAR, *ſon of* ABDOLAZIZ, *ſon of* MEROUAN.

He was made khalif on a Friday, the tenth day before the end of Sepher, in the year 99, which was the day of the death of Soliman.

He died in the monaſtry of Simeon, on the territory of Hémeſſe, of the dependance of Kannaſerin, on Friday, five days before the end of Redgeb, in the year 101. He reigned two years, five months, five days. He was aged thirty-nine years; his tomb is famed in that place. Some ſay, that he was aged forty years; others, forty-one years. They alſo diſagree on the preciſe duration of his reign†.

YEZID, *ſon of* ABDOL-MALIK, *ſon of* MEROUAN.

He was inſtalled on the day of the death of Omar, on a Friday, five days before the end of Redgeb, in the year 101‡.

* In the table, two years, five months, thirteen days.
† In the table, four years, one day.
‡ He is not named in the table.

He

He died in the territory of Damaſcus, on a Friday, five days before the end of Schaban, in the year 105, aged thirty-ſeven years, after a reign of four years, one month, and two days.

HESCHAM, *ſon of* ABDOLMALIK,

Was inſtalled the day of the death of his brother Yezid, on a Friday, five days before the end of Schoual*, in the year 105. He was aged thirty-eight years, ſome ſay forty. He died at Réſapha, in the land of Kennaſerin, the Wedneſday, ſixth of Rabi-al-akher, of the year 125, aged fifty-three years: he reigned nineteen years, ſeven months, eleven nights†.

OUALID, *ſon of* YEZID.

He was proclaimed the day of the death of Heſcham, on a Wedneſday, ſixth of Rabi-al-akher, in the year 125. He was killed on Thurſday, two nights before the end of Dgioumadi-al-akher, in the year 126.

He reigned one year, two months, twenty-two days‡, he was aged forty years at his death; and was buried at the place where he was killed.

* Higher up it is Schaban.

† In the table, nineteen years, eight months, ſeven or nine days; which makes of the Hegira 124 years, three months, ſix days.

‡ In the table, one year, two months, twenty days; which makes of the Hegira 125 years, five months, twenty-ſeven days. There was after his death an inſurrection, which laſted two months, twenty-five days; which makes 125 years, eight months, twenty-two days of the Hegira.

YEZID

YEZID *and* IBRAHIM, *both ſons of* OUALID.

Yezid was inſtalled at Damaſcus, on a Friday, ſeven days before the end of Dgioumadi-al-akher, after the death of his father. He died at Damaſcus, on a Sunday, at the new moon of Dhoulhedgé, in the year 126: he reigned five months, and two nights*.

His brother Ibrahim was proclaimed the ſame day at Damaſcus: he reigned four months; others ſay two; and was depoſed in an inſurrection.

Yezid was interred at Damaſcus, aged thirty-ſeven years; or, according to others, forty-ſix.

MEROUAN, *ſon of* MOHAMMED, *ſon of* MEROUAN,

Was proclaimed at Damaſcus on Monday the fourteenth of Sepher, in the year 127; and was killed after a reign of five years, ten days; others ſay five years, three months†. His death happened at the beginning of the year 132; according to ſome, in the month of Mouharram; according to others, in Sepher. They diſagree much upon the duration of his reign, which, according to ſome, was of five years, three months; according to others, of five years, two months, ten days; and even, according to others, of five years, ten days. He was, when killed in Egypt, aged ſeventy years, or ſixty-nine, or fifty-eight.

* In the table, two months, ſeven days; which makes 125 years, eleven months, one day of the Hegira.

† In the table, five years, two months; which make 131 years, three months, twelve days of the Hegira.

DYNASTY

DYNASTY OF THE ABBASSIDES, OR THE HASCHEMIDES.

ABOUL-ABBAS ABDALLAH.

He was proclaimed the night of Friday the thirteenth of Rabi-al-akher, in the year 132; or according to others, in the middle of Dgioumadi-al-akher, the ſame year. His reign was four years, nine months*: he died at Anbar, a town he had built, on Sunday, the twelfth of Dhoulhedgé, in the year 136, aged thirty-three years; or twenty-nine, according to others.

ABOU-DGIAFAR AL-MANSOUR, *ſon of* ABOUL-ABBAS.

He was on his way with preſents to Mecca, when he heard that on Sunday the twelfth of Dhoulhedgé, in 136, he had been proclaimed khalif. He was born in the month of Dhoulhedgé, in the year 95, and died on a Saturday, ſix days before the end of Dhoulhedgé, in the year 158. He reigned twenty-two years, leſs nine days†. He was then on pilgrimage, and arrived at Mecca, aged ſixty-three years; and interred at Mecca; with his face uncovered, becauſe he was employed in his pilgrimage. There are ſome who

* In the chronological table, he reigned four years, eight months, two days; which makes of the Hegira 135 years, eleven months, four days; to the time of the proclamation of Almanſour, paſſed fourteen days, which makes of the Hegira, 135 years, eleven months, twenty-eight days.

† According to the table, he reigned twenty-one years, eleven months, ſix days: twelve days paſſed before the news was brought to Mahadi, which makes of the Hegira 157 years, eleven months, eighteen days.

ſay,

ſay, that he died at Bathha, near the well Maimoun: was interred at Hadgioun, (a mount near Mecca) aged ſixty-five years.

MAHADI MOHAMMED, *ſon of* ABOUL-ABBAS.

One of his officers received his proclamation at Mecca, on Saturday the ſixth of Dhoulhedgé, in the year 158; and another brought it to him two days after. He was born in the year 127.

He went out from the city of Peace (Bagdad) the year 169, to go into the land of Pharſaſin, of the country of Dinour. He took ſome drug, and died, in a village called Zeïn, the night of Thurſday, ſeven days before the end of Mouharram, in the year 169: he reigned ten years, one month, fifteen days*, aged forty-three years. Haroun Ar-raſchid made the prayers for him; Mouſa-al-hadi was then in Dgiargian.

MOUSA-AL-HADI, *ſon of* MAHADI.

He was proclaimed ſeven days before the end of Mouharram, of the year 169, three days after the death of his father: he was aged twenty-four years, three months, and died near Bagdad, in the year 170, the twelfth night before the end of the month Rabi-al-aoual. He reigned one year, three months†. Haroun had received the proclamation for him, and had it ſent to him by a courier.

* According to the table, ten years, one month, five days. Eight days had paſſed, when the intelligence of his death came to Hadi, which makes of the Hegira 168 years, one month, one day.

† Which makes 169 years, two months, ſixteen days.

HAROUN

Haroun Arrascid.

He was proclaimed at Bagdad the night of the death of his brother, the twelfth night before the end of the month Rabi-al-aoual, in the year 170.

He died near Thous, in a village called Sarad, on Saturday, the fourth night of the month Dgioumadi-al-akher, of the year 193. He reigned twenty-three years, ſix months; others ſay, twenty-three years, two months*: he was one-and-twenty years when he was made khalif; and when he died, forty-four years four months.

Amin, *ſon of* Haroun.

He was proclaimed at Thous, the day of the death of his father, that is to ſay, a Saturday, the fourth night of Dgioumadi-al-aoual, of the year 193: he was born at Reſapha, and killed at the age of thirty-three years, thirteen days; his body was interred at Bagdad, and his head carried to Khoraſan. He reigned four years ſix months†, being ſix months younger than Mamoun. From the day of his depoſition to his murder, there paſſed one year and an half and thirteen days; he was in priſon two days.

Mamoun Abdallah, *ſon of* Haroun.

When he was proclaimed, he was twenty-eight years and two months old. He died at Balatdoun,

* According to the table, twenty-three years, two months, ſixteen days, which makes of the Hegira 192 years, five months, fifteen days.

† According to the table, until his depoſition, three years twenty-five days, which makes of the Hegira, 195 years, ſix months, twelve days. He was afterwards reinſtated, and was killed at the end of a year, ſix months, thirteen days.

or

or Badandoun*, near the fountain Aſchra, whence the river Baladidoun ſprings, the name of which, in Roman, is Raca. He was carried to Tharſis, where he was interred, in the year 218, aged forty-ſeven years. He reigned twenty-one years.

Motassem Billah, *ſon of* Haroun.

He was proclaimed the day of the death of Mamoun, on Thurſday the 13th night before the end of Redgeb, of the year 218; he was aged thirty-eight years, two months.

He died in the year 227, at Surmanrai, at the age of forty-ſix years, ten months: he reigned eight years, eight months†. His tomb is in a place called *Dgiouſac*.

Agreeable to Maſoudi, this prince died in one of his palaces, called *Khacani* on the Tygris, aged forty-eight years; or according to others, forty-ſix years.

Ouathec Billah.

He was the ſon of a Grecian female, named *Carathis*. He was proclaimed at the death of his father Motaſſem, on a Thurſday, the eighteenth night of Rabi-al-aoual, of the year 227.

* According to the table, twenty years, five months, twenty-two days; which makes of the Hegira, 217 years, ſix months, nineteen days. We read at Badendo, near Tharſis.

† This khalif is the firſt that has added to his name the word *Billah*, that is to ſay, *in deo*; as we ſay, *by the grace of God*.

According to the table, eight years, one day; which makes of the Hegira 226 years, two months nineteen days.

He

He was aged thirty-one years, nine months; and reigned five years, nine months, thirteen days*.

They ſay he died on a Wedneſday, ſix days before the end of Dhoulhedgé, of the year 232, aged thirty-four years.

MOTAOUAKKEL ALALLAH, *ſon of* MOTASSEM.

He was at firſt named *Montaſer Billah*, and two days after, they changed this title and gave him that of *Motaouakkel Alallah*.

He was proclaimed khalif the day of the death of his father, a Wedneſday, ſix days before the end of Dhoulhedgé, of the year 232. He was aged twenty-ſeven years and one month, when he was killed at the third hour of the night of Wedneſday, third of Schoual, in the year 247, being forty-one years, nine months, nine nights old†.

MOUNTASER BILLAH, *ſon of* MOTAOUAKKEL.

He was proclaimed the night on which his father died, being on the night of Wedneſday third of Schoual, in the year 247. He was aged twenty-five years: he died in the year 248, after a reign of ſix months‡.

MOSTAIN

* According to the table, five years, nine months, five days; which makes of the Hegira 231 years, eleven months, and twenty-four days.

† According to the table, he reigned fourteen years, nine months, ſeven days; which makes of the Hegira, 246 years, nine months, one day.

‡ According to the table, he reigned ſix months; which makes of the Hegira 247 years, three months, one day: to the depoſition of Moſtain at Bagdad, two years, nine months, three days, which makes

of

MOSTAIN BILLAH, *ſon of* MAHOMMED, *ſon of* MOTASSEM.

He was proclaimed on the day of the death of Mountaſſer, on Sunday the fifth of Rabi-al-akher, in the year 248; his mother was a Slavonian. He abdicated in favour of Motaz, after a reign of three years, eight months; or, according to others, three years nine months. He was killed on Wedneſday, third of Schoual, of the year 282, aged thirty-five years.

MOTAZZ BILLAH, *ſon of* MATAQUAKKEL.

He was proclaimed at the depoſition of Moſtaïn, on a Thurſday, the ſecond night of the month Mouharram; or, according to others, the third of that month, in the year 252: he was aged eighteen years. He abdicated on a Monday, three days before the end of Regeb, of the year 255, and died ſix days after, having reigned four years, ſix months. He was interred at Samara.

He had been proclaimed twice; the firſt time at Samara, before the depoſition of Moſtaïn; the ſecond at Bagdad. He reigned four years, ſix months, and ſome days; and after the ſecond, three years ſeven months. He died at the age of twenty-four years.

of the Hegira 250 years, fourteen days: till the inſtallation of Modtaz, eleven months, twenty days, which make, of the Hegira, 251 years and four days; and till his depoſition, three years, ſix months, twenty-three days; which make, of the Hegira, 254 years, ſix months, twenty-ſeven days; and to the proclamation of Mahtadi, 254 years, ſeven months.

MOHTADI BILLAH, *ſon of* OUATHEC.

He was proclaimed on a Wedneſday, before day-break, the laſt night of Regeb, of the year 256: he was aged twenty-five years.

He died in the month of Regeb, 179, aged forty-eight years, having reigned twenty-three years.

The year 258, a Thurſday, at the beginning of Rabi-al-aoual, he aſſociated in the empire, his brother Mouaffee Billah.

MOTADHED BILLAH, *ſon of* MOUAFFEE.

He was proclaimed the day of the death of Motamed, which was on a Tueſday, the twelfth night before the end of Regeb, of the year 279. He died at Bagdad on a Sunday, ſeven days before the end of Rabi-al-akher, of the year 289. He reigned nine years, nine months, and two days, aged forty-ſeven years; or, according to the Chronicles, forty years. It is ſaid he was thirty-one years when he was made khalif. According to others, Motadhed died at the fourth hour of the night of the Monday, eight days before the end of Rabi-al-akher, in the year 289.

MOSTACSI, *or* MOSTASI BILLAH, *ſon of* MOTADHED.

He was proclaimed when abſent, on the day of his father's death. He was then at Racca, and returned to Bagdad in the month Dgioumadi-al-aker. He died on Monday the thirteenth of Dhoulcaada, anno 295, aged twenty-three years and three months, having reigned ſeven years, ſeven months, and twenty-two

ty-two days; of, according to others, ſix years, ſix months, and ſixteen days.

MACTADER BILLAH, *ſon of* MOTADHED.

He was proclaimed the day his brother died: he was thirteen years old. He was killed at Bagdad on a Wedneſday, three nights before the end of Schoual, anno 320, having reigned twenty-four years, eleven months, and ſixteen days.

CAHER BILLAH, *ſon of* MOTADHED.

He was proclaimed two nights before the end of Schoual, in the year 320, and depoſed 322.

RADHI BILLAH, *ſon of* MOTADHED.

He was proclaimed the ſame year, and remained khalif until the year 329, when he died.

MOTTAKI BILLAH, *ſon of* MOCTADER.

He was proclaimed in 329, and depoſed in 333.

MOSTACSI BILLAH, *ſon of* MOTTAKI.

He was proclaimed in 333, and depoſed in 334.

MOTHI BILLAH.

He was proclaimed in 334. It appears that the hiſtorians differ much about the chronology of theſe khalifs. Maſoudi adds another table as under:

Mahomet, aged ſixty-three years, died the tenth year of the Hegira.
Aboubekr reigned 2 years, 3 months, 8 days.
Omar ——— 19 ——— 4 ———.

Ali

Ali is not named, which muſt certainly be a miſtake of the copyiſt.

Haſſan, ſon of Aly, reigned 6 months, 10 days.

Moavia reigned 17 years, 8 ———.

OMMIADES.

	Years.	Months.	Days.
Yezid reigned	3	8 wanting 8 nights.	
Moavia - -	0	1	11
Merouan - -	0	8	5
Abdolmalik	21	6½	0
Oualid -	7	8½	0
Soliman -	2	7	27
Omar - -	2	5	5
Yezid - -	4	1	2
Heſcham -	19	9	11
Oualid - -	1	2	22
Merouan -	5	0	10

ABASSIDES.

	Years.	Months.	Days.
Aboul-abbas reigned	4	9	0
Manſour -	22	wanting 9 nights.	
Mahadi - -	10	1	15
Hadi -	1	3	0
Raſchid -	23	6	0
Amin - -	44	6	0
Mamoun -	24	0	0
Motaſſem -	8	8	0
Ouathec -	5	9	9
Motaouakkel -	14	9	9
Mountaſer -	0	6	0

Moſtain

	Years.	Months.	Days.
Moſtain reigned	4	6	0
Motazz -	4	6	0
Mohtadi -	0	1	0
Motamed	23	0	0
Motadhed -	9	9	0
Moktaſi -	6	7	2
Moctader -	24	11	16
Caher -	1	6	6
Radhi -	6	11	8
Mottaki -	3	9	18
Moſtakſi -	1	3	0

Mothi to the beginning of the month Dgioumadi-al-aoual, in the year 336 of the Hegira, eight months and fifteen days: the author does not ſay in what year of his reign he died.

AN

AN

ACCOUNT

OF THE

JOURNAL of BURCARD,

Maſter of the Ceremonies to the Pope's Chapel, from Sixtus IV. to Julius II.

FIRST PART.

Under the Pontificates of Sixtus IV. and Innocent VIII.

King's Manuſcripts, numbered 5158 and 5159, in folio; and 5521, three Volumes, in Quarto; among the Latin Manuſcripts.

By M. de BREQUIGNY.

WE know little of John Burcard, whom ſome manuſcripts name alſo Burchard, Bruchard, and Broccard: the name of Burcard has prevailed. I have not been able to diſcover the time of his birth; almoſt all that is known of him is what he informs us himſelf. He tells us he came from Straſburg; that he was dean of the church of St. Thomas, in that city*, &c. He held many employments

* This is the title he takes at the head of the king's manuſcripts 5522 "*Liber notarum per me Joannem Burcardum Argentinenſem, "ſedis Apoſtolicæ protonotarium, S. Florentiæ Aſclaccenſis et B. Mariæ, "et S S. Germini et Rondealdi Grandis vallis Argentinenſis et Baſili-"enſis diœceſis præpoſitum.*"

at the court of Rome; was towards the end of his life biſhop of Horta, and died the 16th of May, 1506. The title by which he is moſt commonly known, is that of "Maſter of the Ceremonies of the Pope's Chapel." He was received into this office under the pontificate of Sixtus IV. the 21ſt of December 1483, his bulls being dated the 29th of November preceding. We are given to underſtand, that they coſt him 400 golden ducats, and that he did not enter upon the exerciſe of his office until the 26th of January, 1484.

It was not until ſome months after that he became convinced of the utility of keeping a journal of the ceremonial reſpecting his office. During the remaining part of the life of pope Sixtus IV. he confined himſelf to ſome dry unintereſting notes, which commenced on Chriſtmas eve, 1483; that is, the eve of New Year's Day, 1484; for at Rome they then reckoned Chriſtmas-day as the firſt day of the year.

On the death of Sixtus IV. Burcard extended the plan of his journal, and took the liberty to inſert many important facts, although they might appear foreign to his principal object. By this, his work was ſo replete with anecdotes, that when Leibnitz publiſhed extracts of it for the firſt time, he announced it under the title of "*Hiſtoria arcana ſeu de vita Alexandri Papæ VI. ex diario Jo. Burcard, Hanoveriæ,* 1697."

Burcard wrote in Latin; his ſtyle is ſimple, and not ſo elegant as natural: the minute details he often enters into, give him an appearance of exactneſs and truth,

truth, which engages. Beſides his journal, he has left a book of ceremonies, which he more than once cites: it is preſerved in the Vatican library; it is not in the king's library, but we there find ſeveral manuſcripts of the journal.

It may be divided into three parts; the firſt contains the laſt months of the life of Sixtus IV. and the whole pontificate of Innocent VIII. No part of this has yet been publiſhed. The ſecond includes the pontificate of Alexander VIII. This has been almoſt wholly printed. The third extends from the death of Alexander VI. to the third year of the reign of Julius II. and to the death of Burcard: two pages only of this has been publiſhed, at the end of the ſecond part. I propoſe to give an account of all three from the manuſcripts in the king's library, and ſhall here employ myſelf on the firſt.

There are three manuſcripts in the king's library, the copies rather modern: the firſt of theſe, No. 5198, is on ſmall folio paper; the writing, about the end of the ſixteenth century, ſmall, but very legible: it contains 224 leaves, beſides a table of contents, which is of no great uſe, becauſe the copyiſt has not attended to the pages of the copy, but has referred to thoſe of the manuſcript he tranſcribed from; but there are marginal notes which are of ſome help to find the facts we are in ſearch of.

The ſecond manuſcript I examined, No. 5159, is alſo in folio, but of a larger ſize; the paper and writing are extremely beautiful. It was copied in 1668, and contains 1070 pages, beſides a table of contents,

tents, which is of no more uſe than the laſt; for we do not find any references, nor are there any marginal notes; otherwiſe it appears to me a faithful copy of the firſt manuſcript.

Theſe two manuſcripts begin in the month of December, 1483, and end June 14, 1492. The third, No. 5521, which remains to be ſpoken of, continues to the 25th of July following, the day Innocent the VIIIth died; but it begins at the death of Sixtus IV; otherwiſe the differences are trifling, as will be ſeen by the account I am now going to give. The third manuſcript is in 4to, and is divided in three volumes; the paper is bad; the writing, which appears to be an Italian hand, is of the latter part of the ſixteenth century; but it is negligently done, not eaſy to read, and full of faults. As this is the firſt manuſcript I examined, I ſhall always refer to it, unleſs I mention the Number of any other.

What there is wanting of the pontificate of Sixtus IV. is publiſhed in the other two manuſcripts, and is ſcarce more than a liſt of cardinals on the 17th of March, 1484. In theſe two manuſcripts, the death of Sixtus IV. is ſaid to be between the fourth and fifth hour of the night of Thurſday the 12th of Auguſt following; but in this, it is ſaid to be the 13th, without doubt, by attributing the hours after 12 o'clock at night to the 12th day; and this date has been commonly adopted. Here follows a detail of what paſſed before the election of his ſucceſſor.

As ſoon as the pope was dead, Burcard, as maſter of the ceremonies, was, with his colleagues, called to aſſiſt

aſſiſt at the funeral. He then paints the extreme confuſion that reigned in the palace immediately after he expired. His body having been expoſed on a table, they were long before they were able to obtain the neceſſary things to waſh and cloath it agreeable to the cuſtom: the domeſtics employed themſelves in plundering the furniture; every thing was carried off in a moment. Burcard, mean time, in vain applied to the perſons whom the pope had conferred the greateſt favours to procure water, wine, ſpices, and linen: at the end of the four hours, a kitchen boy brought him ſome water in a kettle, which was uſed to waſh diſhes in; a barber, to whoſe ſhop he repaired, lent him a baſon: they were obliged to make uſe of the ſhirt he died in to dry his body, and could not procure another. Burcard cloathed him in his pontifical habit, and confeſſes, that in this confuſion, he forgot the pope had formerly worn the habit of the order of St. Francis, and in this habit he ought to have been cloathed after his deceaſe, as had been practiſed on the the death of Alexander V. For want of a paſtoral croſs, they were obliged to croſs the ſtole on his breaſt: a ſapphire ring, of the value of 300 ducats, was put on his finger; and ſo little could they truſt to the reſpect of thoſe who came near him, that guards were placed to prevent their ſtealing the ring. Thus he was incloſed in a bier of walnut wood, and interred the 18th of Auguſt, in the church of St. Peter, which he had choſen for his ſepulture. I ſhall not dwell on many other details of this kind; they will only teach us what we too well know, how

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ſoon the great are forgotten after their deaths, when they owe the reſpect that is paid them to their power alone. The principal object which employed every one, was the election of a new pope, and the conclave immediately (Auguſt 6th) aſſembled to proceed to the election.

Burcard attended the cardinals thither to exerciſe his office, ſo that no one had a greater opportunity to be informed of what paſſed. He gives the moſt exact account of all he obſerved, both as to the exterior and inferior guard: to him the keys of the gates were intruſted, and the proviſions brought to the cardinals through a wicket, were delivered to him. The cardinals were in number twenty-five; each had two conclaviſts to attend him, except three infirm cardinals who had three each; the chaplain had but one, and that was a favour. Beſides theſe, there were two phyſicians in the conclave, and two maſters of the ceremonies, of which Burcard was the firſt.

They firſt began by regulating the diviſion of all that ſhould be found in the conclave, to belong to the perſon who ſhould be elected pope. The ſecond day they digeſted a great number of articles to which they were to conform; they are curious, and contain all that can be thought the moſt favourable to the cardinals in general. We find ſome of theſe articles printed in the Annal. Eccl. of Oderic. Raynaldi, who has ſuppreſſed the greateſt part of them. The firſt of them obliged the cardinal, who ſhould be elected, to make oath before his election was made public, to obſerve purely, ſimply, and faithfully, the

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articles which he then agreed to; and a long form of an oath, in which every thing that could render it moſt inviolable was inſerted; a precaution which ſuppoſes that the future pontiff would be little diſpoſed to obſerve, as pope, what he would willingly ſubſcribe to as cardinal.

They afterwards particularized all the conditions he was to ſubmit to: he engaged to aſſign to each cardinal, who did not enjoy 4000 florins eccleſiaſtical revenue, an annual penſion of 100 florins of gold; to cauſe them to be paid all that was due to them by Sixtus IV. and to leave them in poſſeſſion of the land, caſtles, towns, and even the jewels which that pope had given them as ſecurity for money lent: to grant every one of them, for life, ſome land, caſtle, and place of retreat, in caſe of a contageous diſorder, or for a place of amuſement. It was agreed, that if any power, diſcontent with the future election, ſhould take their revenge by ſeizing the effects of any of the cardinals, they ſhould be indemnified by the church. As the cardinals did not think it decent for them, when they came to an audience of the pope, to mix among the croud, the future pope obliged himſelf to aſſign a particular room for that purpoſe, to which even the foreign ambaſſador ſhould not be admitted. * *

But the moſt ſingular, perhaps, of all the articles was, that the future pope ſhould grant previouſly to all the cardinals, an entire and unreſerved abſolution of all the crimes they might hereafter commit, however enormous; and even if they were of ſuch a nature that they could not be pardoned, except by an expreſs

expreſs declaration, the demand of ſuch a promiſe, ſeemed to contain a tacit and not very honourable acknowledgment of the neceſſity they thought they ſhould ſtand in of it.

The reſolutions containing theſe articles, being preſented to each cardinal, they all ſucceſſively ſigned them, except Cardinal Foſcaro, who retired, ſaying he would ſign laſt; but when they carried the act to him for that purpoſe, he declared he never would ſign them.

They digeſted other articles, the obſervation of which they likewiſe ſwore to. Theſe are all printed in Raynaldi's Annals; ſo I ſhall content myſelf with a curſory mention of ſome of them.

By the firſt, the pope was to confirm all theſe articles by bulls, having the force of decretals, which were to be publiſhed four days after his coronation; the ſecond regulated the contributions of the pope and cardinals, to the expences of a war againſt the Turks, if it ſhould take place; by the third, the pope obliged himſelf to reform the Roman court, both in its head and members, within three months after his coronation, agreeable to the advice of a majority of the cardinals.

By others he declared, that he would not remove his court from Rome, without the conſent, in writing, of the greater number of cardinals; that he would immediately call a general council; that he would not create any cardinal under thirty years of age; and their creation ſhould always be public; nor would he create more than one of his own family: that

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their number ſhould never exceed twenty-four, and that no nomination ſhould take place until they were reduced to that number.

There were articles, by which he was forbid to alienate the patrimony of the church, to conclude treaties, or to declare war, without the expreſs conſent of two-thirds of the cardinals; not to intruſt the government of the caſtle of Saint Angelo, or of any other ſtrong place, or the poſt of captain-general of the church, &c. to any of his relations. All this was to be ratified before the election was declared, and the form of the ratification was preſcribed; theſe articles, like the former, were ſigned by the cardinals.

A difficulty aroſe on the ſubject of one of the cardinals (Aſcagno Sforza, made cardinal by Sixtus IV. the 17th March, 1584, a little before his death), he had arrived at Rome after the pope's death, who conſequently could not poſſibly *open his mouth*; but it was anſwered, that *neither had he ſhut it*; and agreeable to former examples, they determined that he had a right to vote, which he would have been deprived of, had the pope ſhut his mouth, and died before he had opened it.

To be elected pope, two-thirds of the ſuffrages muſt be obtained; the electors were twenty-five: he who had moſt votes on the firſt ſcrutiny, had only ten; but the 29th of Auguſt, the fourth day of the ſcrutiny, John Baptiſte Cibo, cardinal of Malfi, had a ſufficient number of ſuffrages, and was elected pope. Burcard does not tell us how the cardinals ſettled it among themſelves; he only relates that they had

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ſome conferences in the evening, when they were aſſured of ſeventeen votes for the cardinal de Malfi; the latter was ſeen on the following night on his knees before a table, where he ſigned many inſtruments which ſome cardinals waited for, ſtanding about him; and the cardinal of Sienna, who was of the number, ſaid then, "How wrong this is; the pope ſigns on his "knees, and we who petition are ſtanding." Burcard reports the Italian words which the cardinal made uſe of.

This nomination therefore was foreſeen ſo certainly, that in the morning the conclaviſts had all ſtripped their apartments, except Cardinal Malfi, whoſe furniture, according to the agreement, belonged to them. As ſoon as the pope was acknowledged, they put on his finger the ring of Sixtus VI. placed him on a ſeat, brought him near a table, and produced to him the articles agreed on; he had before ſigned them as cardinal, and now ratified them as ſovereign pontiff, in the preſcribed form; the breach of them was to be deemed perjury, and ſubject to an anathema, with a clauſe, that he ſhould not have power either to abſolve himſelf, or cauſe himſelf to be abſolved. Immediately the cardinal of Sienna, having opened a window, announced the election to the people, who were aſſembled in the court of the palace.

Mean time the cardinals haſtened to preſent different petitions to him; he ſigned them all as well as thoſe of the conclaviſts, without reading them; he not only confirmed to them the ſurrender of all the moveables in the conclave which belonged to him, but conferred

ferred many other favours. Burcard obtained the provoſtſhip of the church of our lady of Saint Gengoul, near Bamberg, which was juſt vacant by the promotion of Barthold de Henneberg, to the archbiſhoprick of Mayence.

The cardinal de Malfi took the name of Innocent VIII. From his election to his coronation, every day was marked by ſome conceſſions made to the cardinals, agreeable to the convention he had ſigned. Burcard however adds, that he did not acquit himſelf of all he had agreed to.

I paſs over the ceremonies of the coronation; of which Burcard, who had the direction, does not omit any particular. I ſhall only cite two circumſtances, which appear to me worthy to be remarked; the one reſpects the Jews, and the other the pretended probationary chair; the origin of which is attributed to the adventure of pope Joan.

The Jews were accuſtomed, at the coronation of every pope, to meet him on his paſſage, and preſent him with the book of their law, requeſting the confirmation of it. This had been practiſed not only at Rome, but even at Baſle, at the inſtallation of Felix V. When it was done at Rome, it was in a public place, through which the new pope paſſed, in going to St. John of Lateran to be crowned; but the Jews had often been inſulted there. Innocent permitted them this time to preſent the book at the caſtle of St. Angelo, from the battlement of the lower wall, which they did. I ſhall tranſlate the very ſingular form of this preſentation, and the pope's anſwer.

" We, the Hebrews, in the name of our ſyna-
" gogue, beſeech your holineſs to deign to confirm
" and approve the law of Moſes, our ſhepherd, which
" was given unto him, for us, upon mount Sinai,
" in the ſame manner as the predeceſſors of your
" holineſs have approved and confirmed them."

The pope anſwered, " We reſpect your law, but
" we condemn the manner in which you obſerve and
" interpret it; for the church teaches and tells us
" that he who you ſay is yet to come, is Jeſus Chriſt,
" our Lord."

It is thought that the uſe of the pretended *probationary chair*, ended at the inſtallation of Innocent VIII. They cite, on this ſubject, an epigram of the poet Marullus; where, it is ſaid, they had no occaſion to enquire after the ſex of this pope, which was evident by the number of his children. Yet Burcard ſays, that one of the ceremonies of his coronation was his ſitting in *ſede marmorea nuncupatûr ſtercorariâs*, which appears to me the ſame as the probationary chair. It was a ſeat of marble, on which the prior and the canons of the Lateran made the new pope ſit down; the cardinals afterwards raiſed him up, ſinging the verſe, *ſuſcitat de pulvere egenum et de ſtercore erigit pauperum:* this is clearly what has given this chair the name of *ſtercorary*. Now this name conveying an idea very different from that of a ſeat of honour, they have ſought to find a reaſon why they uſed ſuch a ceremony: and the enemies of the court of Rome, taking occaſion, from the ſimilitude of ideas, which gave birth to this equivoque, have ſuppoſed, that this

this chair had been invented to avoid a ſimilar error into which they had fallen, in electing a woman pope: thus the *ſtercorary* became a *probationary* chair.

They ſay that the epigram of Marullus turns on their omitting to place pope Innocent VIII. on this chair he ſpeaks of, and that conſequently, what he relates, cannot apply to the *ſtercorary* chair; but, according to Burcard, when the pope was arrived before the palace of Lateran, the crowd and tumult became ſo great, that he was in ſome danger, and they could not, in the uſual place, put in practice the ceremony alluded to. There was nothing more wanted to give birth to this epigram. There is every reaſon to believe, that the *ſtercorary* chair was only an emblem, like the flax they burnt before the pope, ſinging *ſic tranſit gloria mundi.* By this double allegory, they reminded him of the inſtability of human greatneſs, and of the rank to which he had juſt been raiſed.

The pope had thrown, or cauſed to be thrown, much ſilver among the populace, during the ceremony; particularly when he found himſelf preſſed by the crowd. When he arrived at the church of Saint Peter, where he was to make his offering, he perceived, that neither he or his treaſurer had any thing remaining. Burcard gave him all he had, which was a ducat and two florins, and the pope placed them on the altar. But let us here turn theſe details to others of more importance, ſuch as concern the rank and precedence among the princes; of which there is often mention in Burcard's Journal.

He obſerves, that, October 20, 1484, Alphonſo, duke of Calabria, the eldeſt ſon of Ferdinand, king of Sicily, being admitted to an audience of the pope, took his place immediately after the cardinal vice-chancellor; but, adds Burcard, "It was by order "of the pope that I placed him there, for that rank "is only due to kings, and Alphonſo ſhould only "have been placed after the firſt cardinal prieſt." When Alphonſo quitted Rome, reconducted by the cardinals, to the diſtance of a mile, inſtead of marching between the two ancient cardinal deacons, he went between the cardinal biſhops, which diſpleaſed moſt people; "for," ſays Burcard, "this rank "belongs only to the emperor."

This author never forgets to declaim againſt the honours, which he thinks injudiciouſly conferred. Thus he thinks the houſhold of the pope and cardinals were wrong, in proceeding to meet the ambaſſadors of the grand maſter of St. John of Jeruſalem, in 1485.

The emperor, Frederic III. having cauſed his ſon Maximilian, arch-duke of Auſtria, in 1486, to be elected king of the Romans, Maximilian's ambaſſador attempted to take place of all the other ambaſſadors then at Rome. They oppoſed it; and the queſtion having been diſcuſſed in a conſiſtory, it was determined, that the ambaſſador could not ſupport his pretenſions, until the pope had acknowledged Maximilian as king of the Romans, agreeable to what had been practiſed in the times of the emperor Charles IV. and pope Clement VI.

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In 1483, the ambaſſador of the ſame Maximilian, having done homage to the pope, in the name of his maſter, as king of the Romans elect, claimed the precedence. This was conteſted by the ambaſſador of France, who alledged, that his maſter gave place only to the emperor. Burcard ſays, the king of the Romans being deſigned emperor, had the ſame rank as the emperor himſelf. To ſtop the altercation, the ambaſſador being a biſhop, the pope placed him among his aſſiſtants.

This diſpute was renewed ſome time after, on the arrival of the cardinal of St. Peter-a-vinculis, when the cardinals and ambaſſadors met him. The biſhop of Leſcar, ambaſſador of France, immediately followed the cardinals, Maximilian's ambaſſador having in vain requeſted him to give place, ſeized him by his mantle, forced him out of the rank, and took his place: the ſame day, at maſs, they gave him incenſe, and Burcard ſaluted him before the ambaſſadors of France and Spain.

The biſhop of Leſcar complained of this, and alſo of the violence uſed againſt him, by the ambaſſador of the king of the Romans, who, he pretended, had incurred excommunication. The pope did not diſagree to it, but ſuſpended the conſideration of it during maſs, and directed Burcard to ſettle the matter. While the pope was ſpeaking to Burcard, the ambaſſador of Maximilian went out of the chapel, and the affair, in that reſpect, had no conſequences.

The ambaſſadors of France and Spain on their ſide, complained of the incenſe and ſalutation being

offered to the ambaſſador of Maximilian before them. The pope did not determine any thing that day on the ſubject, but three days after he told Burcard, that agreeable to the advice of the cardinals, he ought to do honour to an eccleſiaſtic before a lay ambaſſador; and when Burcard attempted to excuſe himſelf, the pope added, that the ambaſſadors of France and Spain refuſed to acknowledge Maximilian for king of the Romans, until he had been approved by the church of Rome. Mean time the ambaſſador of Maximilian was permitted to do homage. As to the reſt, the ambaſſador of France pretended that he ought not, in any caſe, to give precedence to an ambaſſador of the king of the Romans; and Burcard reports, that, if in 1191, the French ambaſſador gave place to the ambaſſador of the king of the Romans, it was becauſe it was agreed that he was alſo at the ſame time ambaſſador of the emperor. Burcard's journal contains many circumſtances relative to precedence, among other ſovereigns; and thoſe who are curious in inquiries of this kind, will there find many important ones; but I think I have ſaid enough on that head.

This manuſcript diſcovers many faults in the hiſtory of Tournay, by John Couſin, and which I find in the ſecond edition of the "New Chriſtian Gaul," on the ſubject of John de Moniſſart, biſhop of Tournay. We read in theſe two works, that John de Moniſſart was conſecrated biſhop of Tournay, by Sixtus IV. the 18th of October, 1483. Burcard informs us, he was not conſecrated until the 28th of March 1486, and

and that it was by Innocent VIII. He gives the ceremonies of this conſecration at large.

The hiſtorian of Tournay, and the authors of the "New Gaul," add, that this biſhop died in 1484; but according to Burcard, he did not die until the month of Auguſt, 1490; he was interred the 16th of that month. Burcard deſcribes his obſequies, which were celebrated with much pomp; for he was grand maſter of the pope's houſhold. This prelate is very frequently mentioned in Burcard's journal. It is remarked, that he ſhewed himſelf on all occaſions, much attached to the king of France and the emperor, in hopes that thoſe princes, under whoſe dominion Tournay was, would at laſt acknowledge him for biſhop, which they always refuſed to do. He remained at Rome the reſt of his life, without ever obtaining poſſeſſion of his church, which the king of France had beſtowed on Lewis Pot, through the means of the archbiſhop of Rheims, by virtue of the Pragmatic ſanction. All that concerns Moniſſart in the "New "Chriſtian Gaul," requires much to be rectified from Burcard's journal.

This writer recounting, at full length, the canonization of Leopold, marquis of Auſtria, by Innocent VIII. the 6th of January, 1485, reports a very ſingular proteſt made by the pope, before he admitted Leopold among the ſaints. That by this act, "He did "not intend doing any thing which was contrary to "the catholic faith, to the church, or to the honour "of God." This gave offence to the cardinal of Saint Mark, and he demanded of Burcard the reaſon

why he had ſuggeſted it. "It was ill placed," ſays the cardinal, "particularly as it reſpected a canonization, "made after the moſt exact inquiries, and by the "advice of all the cardinals: if it could have been ap-"plied properly, it muſt have been in thoſe canoniza-"tions to which the pope had been in part compelled, "and which had been made without formality." Burcard anſwered, that a ſimilar proteſtation had been made in the canonizations of Saint Vincent, Santa-Catherinà de Sienna, and Saint Bonaventura; and that it was at all times proper, becauſe the acts eſtabliſhed by the inquiry, proving afterwards to be falſe, the church might have been led into an error. That the pope in truth had not been compelled to canonize Leopold, but he had been ſtrongly preſſed to it, if it be true that a cotemporary writer intimates, that the emperor gave him 15,000 ducats to engage him to do it.

The following year produces a fact, which appears to me worthy to be ſelected. "The 27th of December, "1486; it was 1487 at Rome, becauſe the year be-"gan there on Chriſtmas-day, the pope returning on "horſeback, in ſtate, from the church of Saint John "de Lateran, paſſed," ſays Burcard, "through the "ſtreet in which the figure of pope Joan is placed in "memory of her lying in.—Now," ſays he, "it is pre-"tended that the popes in their cavalcades ought "never to paſs through that ſtreet, and the pope "was alſo blamed by the archbiſhop of Florence, and "ſome other prelates, for having gone that way." Burcard ſpoke of it to a biſhop, who anſwered, "That

"it

"it was nonſenſe, and that the very mention of it fa-
"voured of hereſy." It ſeems by this, that they then in general, at Rome, believed the ſtory of pope Joan, but it was the heretics who particularly gave credit to this opinion. Burcard again relates, that in 1492, the pope paſſed through the ſame ſtreet, but he does not make any more reflections upon it.

The journal of Burcard makes mention of ſome great political events, in which the pope bore an immediate part, or which were notified to him. As theſe events are well known; and as he relates often the dates only, I ſhall not dwell upon them. There is one, however, of which I ſhall ſpeak, becauſe Burcard's account differs from that of other hiſtorians. It is an event that aſtoniſhed Europe, the marriage of Charles VIII. with Anne ducheſs of Bretagne. We know that Charles had promiſed to eſpouſe the daughter of Maximilian, king of the Romans, and that Maximilian had married the ducheſs of Bretagne, by proxy indeed, but with every formality that was thought neceſſary to render the marriage indiſſoluble.

Charles, however, perſuaded Anne to conſent to eſpouſe him, without reſpect to this tie. A double diſpenſation was neceſſary; for, beſides the obſtacle I have juſt mentioned, Charles was related to the ducheſs in the fourth degree. Some hiſtorians ſay, he was before hand aſſured of theſe diſpenſations; but Burcard tells us, that the courier of Charles, ſent to demand them, arrived at Rome the 5th of December, 1491, and brought advice, that the marriage was already conſummated; but it was not in reality until the

the morrow: and it is known that the diſpenſations were not granted by the pope until ten days after. Burcard appears much offended at this marriage. In his journal, he gives the ducheſs the title of Queen of the Romans, and in the table of contents, this affair is pointed out under this odious title, *ſignal adultery of the king of France.*

Another fact, of which Burcard reports ſome circumſtances which are not found elſewhere, happened at Rome to ſultan Zezim, brother to the Turkiſh emperor Bajazet II. No one is ignorant that Zezim, who had paſſed from Rhodes into France in 1489, went from thence to Rome, arrived there the 13th of March, and was received with great honours. Burcard deſcribes the whole ceremony of his entry, of which he was a witneſs, and which was very magnificent. The pope ſent to receive him in great pomp. Zezim was on horſeback, with a turban on his head, according to the cuſtom of the Turks: the cardinals who went before him, took off their hats, but he did not take off his turban, contenting himſelf with a ſlight inclination of the head.

The Souldan of Egypt, Bajazet's enemy, had then an ambaſſador at Rome, who was come there on account of Zezim, before whom he went with a retinue of ten perſons armed with bows and arrows. The grand prior of Auvergne, and another knight of Rhodes, to whom the grand maſter had intruſted Zezim, would not permit the Souldan's ambaſſador to advance; but Francis Cibo, one of the pope's ſons, who was near Zezim, ordered the ambaſſador to advance after he had taken

taken the precaution to make the Turks who followed him, bend their bows. The latter alighted from his horſe, at forty paces from Zezim, who continued to advance. When he was within about fifteen paces, the ambaſſador proſtrated himſelf, then riſing up, and having walked ſome ſteps, he put his right knee to the ground, touched the earth with his right hand, and afterwards carried it to his mouth: riſing again, and having joined Zezim, he again kneeled, embraced the right leg of the horſe, and Zezim's foot; then riſing up he kiſſed his knee; Zezim extended his right hand on the ambaſſador's neck, who kiſſed the prince's habit, and ſeemed ſo much affected, that it was thought he ſhed tears. The prince received this veneration, with a calm and commanding air: he ſpoke only one word to him, to permit him to remount his horſe, which he did, and marched a ſmall diſtance before the prince.

I ſhall not continue the reſt of this long relation. On the morrow the pope held a conſiſtory, to which Zezim was admitted. Burcard omits no circumſtance of this audience. It is ſaid Zezim ought to have ſaluted the pope, by touching the ground with his hand; but he refuſed to do it, and would not even bend his knee when he approached the throne. He only inclined his head, and ſo ſlightly, ſays Burcard, that it could ſcarce be perceived: then going up the ſteps of the throne, he kiſſed the pope's right arm, who was ſtanding. Afterwards he ſaid to the pope, by his interpreter, "That he was charmed to be admitted

" mitted to his preſence; that he recommended him-
" ſelf to him, and that, at a proper time and place,
" he would explain himſelf further in private." The pope replied, " That he had long wiſhed to ſee him
" at Rome, where he ſhould remain in ſafety; that
" he ſhould have no doubt of this, but live quiet;
" every thing being diſpoſed towards a good end." Zezim thanked the pope, and went out, after having kiſſed the right ſhoulder of the cardinals, who remained ſtanding in their places. Such was the pride of this unfortunate prince, in a court, where he muſt be ſenſible he would ſooner find a priſon than an aſylum. It was of great conſequence to the pope, to have Zezim in his hands, as a means to pacify Bajazet, who had threatened Italy. The pope, in return for the grand maſter of Rhodes, D'Aubuſſon, conſenting to put Zezim in his hands, had made him a cardinal, a few days before Zezim arrived at Rome. He had, at the ſame time, created ſome other cardinals. Thus he ill executed one of the articles which he had ſigned both before and after his election, by which he had engaged not to make any cardinals, till their number was reduced under twenty-four.

I ſhall here inſert an anecdote of a different kind, but which I ought not to omit. Many perſons were taken into cuſtody the ſame year, at Rome, who had forged a great number of bulls and apoſtolic letters; one of them confeſſed to fifty at leaſt. They all belonged to the apoſtolic office, and aſſociated together: they firſt cauſed ſome letters to be drawn up, which were eaſily procured; afterwards having eraſed the ink,

ink, with a certain liquid, except the ſignatures, and and ſuch parts of them as they thought proper to leave: in the place of the obliterated clauſes, they inſerted ſuch things as they had agreed with the perſons who employed them. To facilitate their operations, they had different ſorts of ink, ſome of which were eaſily taken out. They were paid according to the importance of the ſervice, and were ſometimes content with one hundred ducats, but confeſſed they had received as far as two thouſand for a ſingle act. They had carried on this trade for two years, when one of them was diſcovered, and betrayed his accomplices. They manufactured diſpenſations of all kinds, and declared they had made one for a prieſt of the dioceſe of Rouen, who was married, to enable him to keep his wife. They had ſome powerful protectors, but the pope was inflexible; the guilty were hung, and their bodies thrown into the fire. One of them was a prieſt, the other had only received the tonſure. Burcard, who relates this affair at length, does not tell us that they obliged them to confeſs all the acts they had forged, and which it became neceſſary to deſtroy. How many of theſe caſes may there be, in which that wiſe precaution has been neglected, and conſequently, how many falſe acts muſt have been handed down to poſterity? It is not, therefore, without reaſon, that the diplomatiſts are on their guard againſt charters which are preſented to them; ſince, independent of thoſe which modern rogues continue to fabricate, we have reaſon

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to believe, there ſtill exiſts a great number, which their predeceſſors have forged.

The feaſt of Eaſter, in the foregoing year, renewed the quarrel for precedence, between the ambaſſadors of Maximilian, king of the Romans, and of Spain. The pope adminiſtered the communion, and Burcard called thoſe who were to receive it, according to their rank: he called the ambaſſador of Maximilian before the ambaſſador of Spain. The latter claimed his rank, and, after ſome altercation, refuſed to receive the communion, until they would adminiſter it to him according to the rank he claimed.

They had great difficulty this year to fix Eaſter-day. The neceſſity of reforming the calendar, which had been uſed ever ſince the time of Julius Cæſar, had been long perceived. The laſt pope, Sixtus IV. had, in 1476, called to Rome the learned Regiomontanus to effect this reform, but that pope dying, the affair was neglected. "According to the calendar," ſays Burcard, "Eaſter, in 1488, fell on the "6th of April: and the aſtronomers pretended, that "in conforming to what the church had preſcribed "for the fixing that feaſt, it ought to be the 30th of "March." One half of Lent was expired, when they informed the pope, it was neceſſary to ſhorten it a week, to conform to the new calculation; the pope judged this would be attended with great inconvenience, becauſe it would excite general attention, whereas very few people would know that they had celebrated it ſeven days later than the aſtronomers pretended

tended to fix it. Thus it was celebrated on the 6th of April, and they acted with ſo much more propriety, as the aſtronomers had deceived themſelves, for, in fact, it ought to have been on that day. But we may conclude from hence, that the pope did not think the day of celebrating Eaſter was of ſuch great importance, though it had formerly cauſed ſo many diſſentions in the church. We know, that notwithſtanding the reformation of the calendar, which was effected under Gregory XIII. there ſtill remains ſome inaccuracies, which muſt, ſome time or other, occaſion a falſe indication for Eaſter. The celebrated John Bernouilli, in 1728, propoſed to have Eaſter-day fixed, in order to obviate all difficulties; and by the conduct of Innocent VIII. in 1488, it is probable he would have adopted the propoſal of Bernouilli.

Burcard is ſometimes unreſerved enough in the recital of the anecdotes he relates. Thus, under the year 1489, in ſpeaking of the eldeſt ſon of an ambaſſador at Florence, who died at Rome in his 15th year, the victim of an exceſſive incontinence, he makes uſe of expreſſions which I ſhall not venture to render in our language. He adds, that the young man was interred in a monaſtic habit, which was frequent enough in thoſe times; and that a funeral oration was made for him.

I have already hinted, that ſome light might be drawn from the journal of Burcard, to improve the new *Gallia Chriſtiana*. I am now going to give another example; the authors, in ſpeaking of Urban of Fieſch, who was nominated biſhop of Frejus, in 1477, ſatisfy themſelves

themſelves with ſaying, that he was ſtill living in 1484, and that his ſeat was vacant in 1485, without marking this date more preciſely. We learn, from Burcard, that he died at Rome, Sunday the 9th of September, in this latter year. He died of the plague, which was then making a dreadful havock in that capital, and was interred without pomp: he held a conſiderable office near the pope. It ſeems that Burcard did not love him, and when he names him, he ſtigmatizes him as perverſe, wicked, and perfidious. Burcard, who did not write his journal to make it public, did not think himſelf bound to any reſtraint in his terms.

For this reaſon, he is commonly looked upon rather as a ſatyrical author. The firſt extracts of his Journal, which have been printed, contain ſeveral ſcandalous anecdotes of Alexander VI. We find nothing ſimilar in the life of Innocent VIII. If his manners were free from any reproach, it was not before his pontificate. He had many children. Burcard mentions, more than once, what the pope did for the eſtabliſhment of ſeveral of them; and we know beſides*, that during his whole life, he was too attentive to their fortune.

The eldeſt of theſe ſons was named Francis; he had been married to one of the daughters of Laurence de Medicis: her name was Magdalen: ſhe was one of the handſomeſt women of her time. Her mother, Clarice de Urſini, carried her to Rome in 1487; they both made their entry the 13th of November,

* The Journal of Infeſſura, on this ſubject, may be conſulted, *ubi ſupra*, *col.* 1948.

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accompanied by her new ſpouſe, Francis Cibo; he was called the nephew of the pope, but was known, to be his ſon; and Burcard himſelf never calls him by any other name. It ſeems by this, that the pope was ſomewhat aſhamed to confeſs himſelf publickly his father; it is therefore an exaggeration of his faults to repreſent him glorying in his numerous poſterity.

Let us now ſpeak of ſome of his other children, which Burcard mentions; he ſpeaks of a daughter, called Martina, who had married Alphonſo de Caretto, marquis of Final, and of another named Theadorina, who had been given in marriage to a rich Genoeſe merchant, called Gerard Uſodomare. The latter had a daughter. Burcard relates her marriage, which was celebrated the 17th of November, 1448, in the preſence of the pope, and of Francis Cibo; adding, in that place, that they were both baſtards; and this formal aſſertion of ſuch a teſtimony of Burcard, contradicts the opinion of thoſe who ſuppoſed that the children of Innocent might proceed from a legitimate marriage, contracted before his exaltation. Burcard excepts againſt his conduct, in admitting women to the nuptial feſtivity of his daughter Theodorina, which was celebrated in his palace, and was a violation of the cuſtom hitherto obſerved. This, ſays our author, made a great noiſe in the city.

Finally, Burcard relates the ceremony of the marriage of another daughter of the pope, named *Baptiſtina*, with Lewis of Arragon, marquis of Geraci, 3d of January, 1492. At this marriage was preſent another daughter of the pope, named *Perretta:* it was

celebrated in the pope's preſence, by the archbiſhop of Raguſa, who was obliged to repeat twice to Baptiſtina the interrogation, *whether ſhe accepted Lewis of Arragon as her legitimate ſpouſe.* After ſhe had conſented, the married couple approached the pope, who was in his ſeat; and both being on their knees, the huſband put the ring on the proper finger of the left hand of his ſpouſe; then ſeveral rings on the other fingers of both hands; laſtly, having both kiſſed the feet of the pope, he roſe, and embraced his conſort. The ceremonial ended there; and the pope withdrawing, they each returned to their reſpective houſes.

A few days before the 31ſt of May, the feaſt of the Aſcenſion, the pope was taken ill at a proceſſion which was made on occaſion of a relic, which the emperor of the Turks had ſent him. It was the iron of the lance that had perforated the ſide of Jeſus Chriſt. The authenticity of this relic was ſomewhat ſuſpected; for it was contended, ſays Burcard, that the true lance was at Nuremberg, where it was ſhewn every year; others declared, they had ſeen it at the *Saint Chappelle* at Paris; ſome however ſaid, that according to an ancient chronicle, this relic, before the taking of Conſtantinople by the Turks, had been tranſported to that place; that a citizen had ſecreted it at his houſe, and that the grand ſignior had bought it of him afterwards for 70,000 ducats; but there were others who repreſented, that conſidering what that relic was, by whom, and to whom it had been offered, that there was room to apprehend it might prove a ſubject of deriſion on the Chriſtian religion; and therefore, that it would be adviſeable

viſeable to accept the pretended relic without any ſolemnity, and to write to Nuremberg, Paris, and Venice, for information.

This was the advice of a great number of the cardinal prieſts, and ſeemed very judicious; but the pope was not willing to ſhew any doubt, and accepted of the relic without heſitation. I omit all the ceremonial with which it had been received. It was carried in proceſſion by the pope himſelf, the day of the aſcenſion, encloſed in a ſhrine of chryſtal. The proceſſion was very tumultuous, and the pope became ſo fatigued that he ſhortened it." The ambaſſador of the grand ſignior preſented letters to the pope, wherein the relic was addreſſed to him. Burcard ſays, that they were not publicly read, and people pretended it was on account of their mentioning a preſent of 40,000 ducats, with which they had been accompanied. It was certainly a means to do away all ſcruple as to the authenticity of the relic; that, and the money, were both to be the inſtruments to render the pope favourable with regard to Zezim, brother of Bajazet, whom he held in his power.

The health of the pope was conſiderably impaired ſince the ſhock it had received in 1488. They thought him dead, and he had been ſick for a long time; for he did not appear in public until February following; from that time, he was never perfectly recovered. I have juſt hinted, that he happened to be taken ill at the proceſſion, on the 31ſt of May, 1492; and the ſickneſs augmented, to ſuch a degree, that on the 14th of June, it was thought neceſſary to take thoſe precautions which announced the preſſing danger in which he

found himſelf. He lived ſtill above five weeks, and died on the 25th of July*. What happened after his death, is reported by Burcard in his Journal of the pontificate of Alexander VI. of whom there are ſeveral manuſcripts in the king's library. I ſhall give an account of it: that which I conclude here, ſeems to me ſufficient to excite a wiſh for the publication of that part of the Journal of Burcard, that ſeems hitherto to have been condemned to oblivion.

Before I end, I muſt obſerve, that there is a large chaſm in the three manuſcrips of the king juſt mentioned. M. de Foncemagne, who had examined the manuſcript, then numbered 9920, (now 5159) had thought that the blank was from the 14th of June 1491, to the death of Innocent VIII. but I am enabled to fix it at fourteen months complete from the 9th of June, 1490, excluſively, to the 8th of Auguſt, 1491. So the poſterior dates of 1492, found at the end of this manuſcript, are not faults of copyiſts, as M. de Foncemagne had conjectured. The arduous method I purſued to aſcertain this, has been to combine the days of the week with thoſe of the months, (they both being marked by Burcard) and to find out the character of the year to which thoſe days belong. It was important to point out an error which might be a ſource of miſtakes; and I congratulate myſelf, having ſpared others the trouble I have had in detecting it.

* Manuſcript, Tom. III. fol. 301. *Nota*, what follows in this manuſcript, is wanting in the two others, but does not take up above 42 lines of a pretty large writing. It ſpeaks but of a conference of Proſper Calonna, and others of the principal lords in Rome, with the conſervators of the people, to aſſociate together in the caſe of the pope's death.

ACCOUNT

ACCOUNT

OF THE

JOURNAL of BURCARD.

SECOND PART.

Under the Pontificate of Alexander VI.

Manuſcripts of the King, ſuperſcribed 5160, 2 vol. 5161, 5162, and 5582, among the Latin Manuſcripts.

By M. de BREQUIGNY.

WHILST the firſt part of this Journal, of which I have given an account, remained buried in the libraries, I haſtened to publiſh the ſecond, the more intereſting, as it had for its ſubject a pope, unfortunately too much famed for the licentiouſneſs of his life, and the abuſe of his power.

As long ago as the year 1649, Denys Godefroy cauſed ſome extracts to be printed, on the ſubject of the famous Savanarola, among the proofs of the memoirs of Comines; and his ſon produced ſome others in 1684, in his obſervations on his hiſtory of Charles VIII. they reſpect what had paſſed at Rome during the reſidence of this prince there, in 1495, and contain only five pages. There is ſome ground to believe that he tranſcribed them from a manuſcript of

the king, No. 8547, among the manuſcripts of Bethune. The ſame extracts are in French and Latin; we find them likewiſe in French in the volume 8439 of the ſame manuſcripts. Godefroy intitled them, *Extracts of a Journal of a Maſter of the Ceremonies at the Court of Rome*, without otherwiſe deſcribing the author.

Oderic Raynaldi mentions Burcard, and made his Journal better known in 1694, by ample extracts, with which he enriched the eleventh volume of his continuation of Baronius: he extracted them from the manuſcripts of the Vatican.

Two years after, Leibnitz publiſhed the *Secret Hiſtory of the Life of Alexander VI.* This was not properly Burcard's Journal, but was rather an abridgment of it, where they had ſometimes inſerted Burcard's words, and at other times had tranſlated them into French. Leibnitz had found this manuſcript in the library of Wolfenbuttel, and thought the publication of it would be uſeful, inſtead of the original, which he could not find.

La Croſe was more fortunate; he found, in 1707, in the library of Berlin, that part of Burcard's Journal, which concerns Alexander VI. and haſtened to communicate it to Leibnitz. The latter immediately formed the plan of publiſhing this piece; and we learn from ſome of his letters, that his deſign was to inſert it in a collection of ſecret hiſtories; but although he lived near ten years after, until 1716, his time was ſo fully employed by a great number of works and plans, that he had no leiſure to execute this.

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The learned George Eccard, having again found this manuſcript, printed it in 1723, at Leipſic, in the ſecond volume of his Collection of Hiſtorians of the middle age; avows it to be imperfect in many reſpects; and that to reſtore the order of it, he was obliged to have recourſe to what Leibnitz had publiſhed from the Wolfenbuttel manuſcript, from which he has even taken ſome ſupplements. We ſhall diſcern he might have done better, if he had known the manuſcripts which are the ſubject of this account. I have found, in his edition, by comparing it with theſe manuſcripts, more than one hundred omiſſions, many of which are important.

If my intention was to make public all the manuſcripts of Burcard, I ſhould ſay, that there are two at St. Germain des Pérs, which, according to M. de Foncemagne's evidence, are incomplete and not exact. I ſhould ſpeak alſo of the manuſcrips in the Vatican, which Oderic Raynaldi often cites; it is No. 104. There is another, which M. de St. Palaye had communicated an account of to the late M. de Foncemagne, from the library of Chigi; but I ought here to confine myſelf to the king's manuſcripts.

I have found, from copies of that part of the Journal which concerns the pontificate of Alexander VI. all on paper, and the writing not very ancient.

The firſt (No. 5160, 2 vol. ſmall folio), of a fine writing, about the end of the ſixteenth or beginning of the ſeventeenth century, extends from the year 1492, to 1503. The pages are not numbered.

The ſecond, (No. 5161, in 4to.) the writing is of the ſixteenth century. This journal of Burcard begins only in 1497, and goes to the end of 1502; it has 273 leaves; the reſt does not belong to Burcard, and contains many extracts, ſome of which concern Calixtus III. who, as well as Alexander VI. was of the Borgia family. They are of the ſame writing as that which precedes them, and appear to have been compiled by Thomas Tamaijo, of Vargas, in 1634.

The third (No. 5162, in folio), is in a very fine hand, the ſame as copied the firſt part of Burcard's journal, of which I have ſpoken in my firſt account, under No. 5159, and of which this, I am now ſpeaking of, is the continuation. It contains 259 pages.

The fourth (No. 5162, 4to.) is divided into four volumes. The writing appears in an Italian hand, of the ſeventeenth century. The text is full of the copyiſt's faults, but the greater part of them are eaſy to correct. This manuſcript is much more ample than any of the former, wherein there are a great number of places abridged, and many omiſſions, particularly towards the end, as if the copyiſt, fatigued with tranſcribing, had endeavoured to ſhorten his work.

The firſt twelve leaves extend from the 25th of July, 1492, the day Innocent VIII. died, until December the 2d following. It is only from this time the other manuſcript, cited at the head of this account, and even Eccard's edition, begins. But what is wanting in this place of theſe different copies, are found word for word, in a work of the ſame age, publiſhed by Eccard. It is a journal of the city of Rome, written

written by Stephen Infeſſura, who, in 1478, was podeſtat of the city of Horta, of which Burcard, his cotemporary, was biſhop. This work is not among the manuſcripts in the king's library.

Innocent VIII. dying the 25th of July, 1692, his obſequies ended the 5th of Auguſt, and the cardinals entered the conclave the next day; and on the 11th they elected Roderic Borgia pope, who took the name of Alexander VI. His election was not more immaculate than that of his predeceſſor. Of twenty cardinals who entered the conclave, we find but three who did not ſell him their votes; Burcard names theſe cardinals, as well as moſt of thoſe whoſe ſuffrages he had bought. To make ſure of cardinal Aſcagnio Sforza, he ſent him four mules loaded with ſilver; another cardinal had received 5000 ducats of gold beforehand; after his election, he gave to ſome, houſes furniſhed, and to others, large ſums. All theſe details, and many others, are omitted in the manuſcripts I have cited, but they are found in the journal printed by Infeſſura.

It would be eaſy for me to draw an intereſting picture of the life of Alexander VI. from Burcard's journal, if it was not to avoid repeating what has been printed in Leibnitz and Eccard's editions; I therefore only deſign to collect ſome ſcattered anecdotes, which have hitherto remained unknown, from the manuſcript I have examined; and I ſhall ſelect thoſe which, on many accounts, deſerve to be preſerved.

It

It is not uſeleſs to be acquainted with the detail of the etiquette of the court of Rome, under the different popes, particularly reſpecting the honours paid to princes. I ſhall therefore report what paſſed in the pope's council, December 21, 1494, when the ceremonial which was to be obſerved towards prince Frederick, ſecond ſon of the king of Naples, who was come to Rome to do homage in the name of the king, his father, was there regulated. This part of Burcard's Journal is omitted in the printed copy.

The pope having aſſembled all the cardinals, aſked Burcard, whom this affair particularly concerned, as maſter of the ceremonies, if prince Frederick ought to rank with the cardinals, or immediately after them? "I replied," ſays Burcard, "that under Innocent "VIII. Francis, who was only fourth ſon of the "king of Naples, having come to do homage for "the king, his father, was met by two cardinals, who "conducted him to the pope; that this honour did "not belong to ambaſſadors, of homage, but was paid "to the ſons of kings. As to the rank among the "cardinals, he ought to precede the firſt cardinal "deacon." The pope collected the voices of the cardinals, and two among them aſſerted, that Francis, brother of Frederick, took place after all the cardinal deacons. "That was not true," ſay Burcard, "yet I did not anſwer; I only repreſented, that prince "Francis was but the fourth ſon of the king, and that "Frederick was the ſecond, which made a difference "between them." The cardinal Aſcagnio Sforza, one of the two that had oppoſed Burcard's advice, ſpeaking

ing to him; "who is," ſaid he, "the greateſt prince, "the duke of Milan, or Frederick?" "Any ſon of "a king," anſwered Burcard, "is, according to the "etiquette of Rome, ſuperior to a duke of Milan, "or the electors of the empire." The duke of Milan ſtood in rank next after the cardinals, and the cardinal Aſcagnio, who was his uncle, ſaw, with mortification, the greater honours deſtined for the ſon of the king of Naples. At length, the pope decided, according to the advice of the majority, that the two junior cardinal deacons ſhould accompany Frederick from the apoſtolical chamber, and that he ſhould have his rank before the laſt cardinal deacon; but that, as obedience was now expected of him, he ſhould not ſit among the cardinals, but ſhould ſtand with the other ambaſſadors of Naples, in the place which was generally deſigned for them. Matters were accommodated agreeable to this deciſion.

The king of France, Charles VIII. who was then at Rome, was alſo admitted to obedience, and the printed Journal of Burcard makes mention of it, but ſuppreſſes the principal incidents of this ceremony, of which he gives an idea obviouſly different from that of the narrative in his manuſcript.

According to the printed copy, the 19th of January, 1495, the day appointed for the allegiance, the pope ſignified to the king, that he was ready to receive him. The king anſwered, that he did not expect the ſummons, but that previouſly to his appearing before the pope, he was willing to hear maſs, and to dine. The pope, acquainted with this anſwer, held

held a council, and ſent inſtantly two cardinals to the king, whom they found at dinner; they acquainted him, that the pope was expecting him in full conſiſtory, whereupon the king departed walking between the two cardinals. It appears by this, that the pope gave orders, as the ſovereign, and that the king obeyed with ſubmiſſion. But this was not the part Charles VIII. acted at Rome. He was in fact the ruler, and he did not neglect, occaſionally, to ſhew it. This appears in the detailed account of Burcard; of which, the printed copy contains only a mutilated extract. I am going to tranſlate this paſſage from the king's manuſcript.

" The pope being prepared for the ceremony of " allegiance, ſent Burcard to inform the king of " what he had to ſay and do, and of the ceremony " of kiſſing the foot; but he forbid him ſpeaking " of the rank in which he was reſolved to place " the king, either among the cardinals, or after the " firſt cardinal. It was known, that this prince was " determined, by the advice of his council, not to " ſit, but to pronounce ſtanding, on the ſteps of the " pope's throne, a ſhort formula of allegiance.

" Burcard found the king in his room, where he " was finiſhing to dreſs himſelf; and having diſcloſed " to him his commiſſion, he added, that the pope " was ready, and expected him. The king anſwer- " ed, that he would attend the pope when he had " heard maſs, and dined. Burcard did all he could " to induce him to go without delay, but in vain. " The pope having received this anſwer, convoked the

" the cardinals, and held a ſecret council, which " laſted above an hour; next, having aſſumed his " habits of ceremony, proceeded to the room, pre- " pared for the public conſiſtory, followed by the " cardinals and prelates. Burcard, nominated thoſe " that were to accompany the king, and with them, " he repaired to that prince. They halted in the room " adjoining to that where he was at table, and he was " informed they were there ready to accompany him, " when he choſe to go to the pope, who was expect- " ing him, with the cardinals, in the room of the con- " ſiſtory.

" At the end of half an hour, the king aſked for " Burcard, and interrogated him on what he had to " do; he explained it to him. The king deſired him " to wait a moment, and paſſed into another room, " to conſult on the manner he ſhould conduct him- " ſelf, which laſted another half hour; after that, he " again called for Burcard, and made him repeat " what he had already heard of him; then joining " the cardinals and prelates, he proceeded towards " the conſiſtory."

I ſhall not deſcribe here the order of the proceſſion, nor the rendering of allegiance; the whole proceeded nearly in the ſame manner as is related in the printed copy. The king remained ſtanding on the ſteps of the pope's throne, without taking place among the cardinals, and in this reſpect evaded the pope's in- jection. Burcard having deſired the king to pro- nounce the formula of allegiance, " it is not yet time,"

ſaid

ſaid the king. He wanted firſt to dictate conditions, which he cauſed the firſt preſident of the parliament of Paris to explain. The printed journal reports them; but what it omits, is the little reſpect which the French of the king's ſuite manifeſted during the ceremony, to the great affliction of Burcard; which proves how little that ceremony deceived them. Upon the whole, the French conducted themſelves in Rome, as in a conquered town; they took lodging in the houſes of the citizens, and lived in ſome meaſure at their own diſcretion. Burcard complains, that they had intruded themſelves into his houſe, and taken his horſes from his ſtables to make room for their own: he was conſtrained to carry his complaints to the king himſelf; and it was with difficulty he could obtain poſſeſſion of his apartments.—Theſe accounts are not found in the printed copy.

Burcard made a journey to Naples, in 1494, to aſſiſt as maſter of the ceremonies of the court of Rome, at the coronation of Alphonſo II. During his ſtay at Naples, he viſited the environs; and we find in his Journal an account of this journey, of which there is not one word in the printed copy. This piece is intereſting, becauſe it enables us to draw a compariſon between the ſtate of thoſe places he deſcribes, as they were three hundred years ago, with the ſituation in which they are now; a compariſon the more acceptable, as the ſoil of the country ſpoken of has ſince undergone ſtrange revolutions. I think it will not be uſeleſs to tranſlate the whole of this account, which is a real anecdote; there are alſo ſome details

details in the ſame, of the death of the king of Naples, Ferdinand I.

" Tueſday, the 13th of May, 1494, I departed from " Naples, in the morning, on horſe-back, to view the " antiquities. The perſon whom the king had " charged with the expenditure of my houſehold, went " with me; he took with him a mule loaded with " wine, bread, meats, ſweatmeats, torches, and all that " might moſt commodiouſly ſubſiſt us, or ſerve to the " ſucceſs of our voyage: ſix friends of mine joined " company, to ſatisfy their curioſity. We arrived " firſt at Aqua-viva, four miles diſtant from Naples; " there ſeveral ſubterraneous vaults had been con- " ſtructed, ſo heated by the warmth of the earth, that " a man who ſpends but half an hour there, returns " in a general perſpiration, which has cauſed them " to be called *ſudorific baths:* they cure various diſ- " orders; and there is a place, where the perſon that " enters is inſtantly ſuffocated, unleſs he be thrown " directly into a bath, which is found near it, and " which reſtores him to life.

" At a mile from thence is Lumera, a place where " alum is fabricated. They calcine the ſtones, which " they take from a neighbouring mountain; they " then range them in order, and throw water ſeveral " times over them; next they boil them in large ba- " ſons, placed in the middle of an oven; and, at " length, withdraw them, and put them into veſſels, " where they are, without further operation, con- " verted into alum.

" At

" At a mile and half from thence, at the other " ſide of the mountain, is the Solfatara, where ſul- " phur is found; it is a plain, nearly circular, of " about half a mile, encompaſſed on all ſides with " ſmall hills, a little paſſage excepted, which leads to " Pozzuolo. There are two ponds to be ſeen at a " conſiderable diſtance, from each other, whoſe wa- " ters are unceaſingly fermenting with great violence; " there is alſo a hole, whence a dreadful ſmoke " iſſues, but no flame, which burſts out with ve- " hemence, and a noiſe. We ſee nothing in that " place, either mountain or plain, but produces ſul- " phur; thus the ſame mountain, which furniſhes " ſulphur on one ſide, ſupplies alum on the other. " From hence to Pozzuolo is one mile and an half; " but at the diſtance of a mile is diſcovered a moſt " ancient edifice of a circular form, like the Coliſſée " at Rome, and which they call Tullium. The " ſubterraneous vaults of this edifice might afford " room for an hundred horſes; for this reaſon, there " are racks and mangers placed there.

" At ſome diſtance from thence, there is a large " grotto; on the ſummit of which, are gardens, " cultivated and planted with trees. I had an ar- " cher of the king's guard with me, who ſhewed " me every thing; it was he whom the king charged " to provide me with every requiſite at Naples. We " dined at Pozzuolo; we then entered a boat, and " proceeded by ſea, to a town called Baiai, at a mile " and an half diſtance: we found ſeveral baths there. " Three miles farther, we found a very fine ſubter-

" raneous

" raneous vault, which they call the marvellous grotto; " it has 14 arches in length, and five in breadth; " each of them about two *cannes*, or five feet broad.

" On the other ſide, towards the ſea, there is a vaſt " cavern in the mountain; in the middle they have " dug a bath, at the four angles of which, are like- " wiſe four other baths, of which each has its pecu- " liar virtues, for the cure of various diſorders. The " ſides of theſe baths were ornamented with tables " of marble, on which the properties of each were " engraved, but theſe have been removed a long " time, it is ſaid, by the phyſicians of Salerno, to " whom theſe baths were very prejudicial.

" Aſcending a few ſteps, we enter a long vault, " which is pervaded with exhalations ſo hot, that they " create an immediate perſpiration. Here is a ſtone " named *cavallo*. There is a great riſque of being " ſuffocated by the heat, to any perſon who advances " beyond it. On the ſide of the entrance are two " rooms dug into the mountain, to ſerve for ſtoves, " and five places for beds have been wrought; there " they undreſs, and after having ſweated, they recline " on the bed, which every one brings with him. " We continued our labour towards a palace, called " Trepergolé*: we ſaw at the bottom of the ſea the " walls of the ancient Baiai, ſunk long ſince. At " Trepergolé, ſeveral ſalubrious baths are found,

* There is a village of that name, which was ſwallowed up in the earthquake which happened in that part in the month of December 1538, when the hill of Monte Nuovo roſe out of the middle of the water of the Lucrine lake. *Voyage to Italy by Lalande, Tom. VII. page* 57.

" but they are generally filthy. My guide told me,
" that Tueſday the 21ſt of January laſt, the late
" king of Naples, Ferdinand, arriving at Trepergolé, and feeling himſelf indiſpoſed, immediately
" ſet off again for Naples; that alighting from his
" horſe, he loſt his ſenſes, and died the Saturday enſuing, the 25th of the ſame month, without confeſſion or ſacraments. That a monk of the order of
" the Minorites, his confeſſor, who was in his room,
" cried out publickly to him, to repent of his ſins,
" and what he might have done againſt the church;
" but that the king gave no ſign of repentance.

" Near Trepergolé is a lake of ſalt water, of
" which no bottom has been found; it is pretended,
" that this water comes from the ſea. On the border
" is a fountain of ſweet and warm water, encloſed by
" walls, and on all ſides ſurrounded by this ſalt wa-
" ter. Between Trepergolé and Pozzuolo, on the
" left hand, leaving the ſea on the right, we ſaw
" mount Barbaro, where, it is aſſerted, there lies a
" rich treaſure concealed; on the top and the two
" ſianks, there are ſome remains of a caſtle.

" In returning from Trepergolé to Naples, by
" another way, about three miles from Pozzuolo,
" ſome other baths are ſeen, which they call Bag-
" noli; among which there is one moſt delightful,
" which, however, cannot contain above four or five
" perſons. Between thoſe baths, and the iſland of
" Porcita, the ſea forms a ſtreight of about one mile.
" Here is the iſland of Niſita, where there is a very
" ſtrong caſtle, and a mountain. There are no houſes

in

"in that part; we can only ſee, from the top of the "mountain, the ruins of an ancient caſtle: there are "alſo the rubbiſh of ſome edifices, but it is not poſ-"ſible to conſtruct any there. This iſland lies three "miles from Pozzuolo by ſea; the moſt part of the "iſland, and the mountain it contains, are hollow, "and their cavities ſerve as a retreat to rabbits and "wild cats.

"On the road, half a mile from Naples, there is "a public way cut through a very high mountain: "it has about two *cannes* in breadth, and one in "height, and nearly two miles in length: towards "the middle, they have cut in the mountain, on one "ſide, a crucifix, and on the other, the image of the "virgin. As the thickeſt gloom reigns through this "paſſage, except near the two appertures, thoſe that "paſs, carefully walk cloſe to the wall at their left "in going and coming, leſt they ſhould run againſt "each other.

"We arrived the ſame evening at Naples. At "the ſame time I alſo went two miles from that "town to take a view of the fine palace of Poggio "Regale; it is a ſquare, and at each of the four an-"gles, there is a ſquare tower two ſtories high. "Within ſide, all round, they have conſtructed "vaulted galleries for the convenience of walking. "Toward the middle they deſcend by eight or nine "ſteps, into a kind of parlour, where there is a wide "conduit, which may be filled with water in a mo-"ment, at the king's pleaſure. His diverſion is, "ſometimes, to have a table prepared in that place;

" and when the gueſts are ſeated, he orders the wa-
" ter to be let in, with which they are waſhed before
" they have time to fly.

" Near the ancient walls of Naples, at the gate of
" Capua, there is a caſtle, with fine apartments, and
" moſt elegant gardens. The preſent king built it,
" when he was only duke of Calabria. It would be
" too long to deſcribe it; I ſhall content myſelf with
" ſaying, that it is a moſt beautiful and enchanting
" place."

There are ſtill ſome other particularities omitted in the printed copy, and related by Burcard, in the narrative of another journey he made with the cardinal Sante Croix, envoy to the emperor, in quality of legate, in 1496. He ſaw, at Aſſiſi, in a convent of Franciſcans, a tooth of St. Chriſtopher, the length of a finger, and the thickneſs of a hen's egg; at Bologna, in a convent of Sante Claire, they ſhewed him the body of the bleſſed Catharine of Bologna (who was ſince canonized by Clement VII). She had been dead twenty-three years, and her face, feet, and hands, were in perfect preſervation. [This body may be ſeen at this day in the ſame convent; but it is nothing more than a frightful, black, and dry figure, like the mummies].

Let us ſupply ſome other omiſſions. Here is an anecdote, which paints at once the licentiouſneſs and ferocious manners, as well as the trifling laws that reigned at Rome, at the end of the fifteenth century.

There was in that town, in 1498, a courtezan, that is, ſays Burcard, an honeſt town girl. They uſed

uſed to call her Corſetta; ſhe had at her houſe a Moor, who paſſed for, and wore the habit of a woman, and cauſed himſelf to be called *Barbara the Spaniard.* It was thought neceſſary to puniſh the criminal commerce that ſubſiſted between them: they were both condemned to be led through the ſtreets of the town; Corſetta dreſſed in a black velvet gown, ſweeping the ground, but without a ſaſh; the Moor in a woman's dreſs, the arms tied behind the back, above the elbow, and ſo indecently put on, that under an appearance of correcting manners, they were ſcandalouſly outraged. After this puniſhment, the courtezan was ſet free, but the unhappy Moor was, a few days after, committed to the flames, with circumſtances that create horror. Here we ſee one of the culprits puniſhed with death, and the other only by ſhame. The diſguiſing of the ſex was then looked upon as the capital crime, whilſt the real crime remained almoſt unpuniſhed.

Although the printed Journal of Burcard contains a multitude of tracts, which ſet forth the exceſs of licentiouſneſs and diſorders of Alexander VI. the king's manuſcripts furniſhes ſtill new ones. I ſpare them to my readers, and I muſt only obſerve, that it is always with more ſimplicity than acrimony, that Burcard relates them. The corruption of manners muſt have been at the higheſt pitch, at the court of a pope, who ſet decency at defiance. Thus we ſee in Burcard's Journal, cardinals embarking openly with courtezans, and conducting them to France;

others avowing, without a bluſh, that they laboured under the diſeaſe, which Burcard calls *the French diſtemper*, and which we uſed to call, with ſo little ground, the *diſtemper of Naples*. They alledged it without palliation for an excuſe, whenever it impeded them from diſcharging their functions. Exceſſes of all kinds reigned alſo among the people. We may form an idea of it, by a converſation between Burcard and a penitentiary, in the month of November 1500, on occaſion of a memorial which the penitentiaries preſented to the pope at the opening of the Jubilee, ſoliciting him to extend their powers. This converſation, which occurs only in the manuſcripts, is curious enough; and it muſt be avowed that the precautions which the penitentiaries took, announce that ſome moſt extraordinary caſes were laid before him. Burcard queſtions one of the penitentiaries on this ſubject, and he reports, with great ingenuity, all that he revealed to him. I ſhall not mix ſcandalous details in this account; but I muſt remark a ſingular circumſtance, which is not foreign to literature.

After a ſequel of divers adventures, reported by the penitentiary, Burcard relates one, which is a-kin to that we read in the eighth novel of the eighth day of the Decameron of Boccacio, and ſtill more to that we find at the end of the thirty-ſecond Serée of Bouchet.

I mean that of a woman, who had ſhut her lover up in a trunk, to keep him from the eyes of her unexpectedly

expectedly returned huſband. The huſband had ſent for the wife of the incarcerated huſband, and told her, that he was determined to avenge himſelf by killing the captive, if ſhe did not conſent to another kind of vengeance. She thought proper to conſult him who was the moſt concerned in it. He anſwered, from within his trunk, that he preferred coming off with a little ſhame, and accordingly he was delivered.

Is it from Boccacio, or from Burcard, that Bouchet, who died in the middle of the ſixteenth century, has borrowed this adventure? or is it not perhaps a ſtory incorporated in Burcard, by ſome copyiſt? I muſt obſerve, that it is not found in the manuſcript 5520, and that it is neither in the manuſcript 5162, although the reſt of the converſation between Burcard and the penitentiary, is related.

We have hitherto ſeen examples of what the king's manuſcripts ſupply, towards giving a more complete edition of that part of the Journal of Burcard, which concerns Alexander VI. Let us now ſhew, that the ſame manuſcripts may alſo ſerve to render it more correct.

We read, in the printed copy, at the 2017th col. *feriâ quartâ vel quintâ Decembris*, which ſignifies the Wedneſday or Thurſday in December; a looſe date, and altogether contrary to the cuſtom of Burcard, who never fails to cite the day of the month, with the day of the week: alſo we read in the manuſcripts, *feriâ quartâ, quintâ Decembris*, Wedneſday the fifth of December, which really was Wedneſday.

The printed copy declares, that on the eleventh of June, 1500, it was ſaid, that the king of France had arrived at Piſa, *fuit dictum, regem Franciæ Piſas veniſſe*; the manuſcripts ſay, that it was a herald of the king, *quendum heraldum regis Franciæ.* They add, even that this herald, who was commiſſioned to ſet up every where in Piſa, the arms of France, was killed by the Piſans, or by the Florentines: a fact the printed copy does not notice. It is certain, that in 1500, the king of France, (Louis XII.) did not paſs into Italy. Thus the errors of the edition of Eccard are manifeſt.

There is another fault in the impreſſion equally glaring; it is the order which the Genoeſe ambaſſadors obſerved at their entrance into Rome. The firſt of them marched between two archbiſhops, the ſecond between a prelate of the palace and one of the French ambaſſadors. We read afterwards, *ſimili modo*, 35, 48, which gives no meaning; but the text of the manuſcript ſays, *ſimili modo tertius, quartus, quintus*, which ſignifies, that it was the ſame with the third, fourth, and fifth ambaſſador; that is, that each of them marched between one of the ambaſſadors of France and a prelate.

In the ſame column of the printed copy, we read *Jaſon Magnus*, inſtead of *Jaſon Maynus*, as in the manuſcript. It is known, that *Jaſon Maynus* was a famous Civilian, who was ſent to Rome in 1492, to congratulate Alexander VI. on his exaltation to the pontificate; it is of the harangue he delivered before

before the pope, on this occaſion, that is ſpoken of in the place here cited.

If the editors of the new Gallia Chriſtiana had known the manuſcript I cite, they would have ſeen that Joſſe of Selinon, biſhop of Sion, after having been ſuperſeded in this biſhopric, during two years, was tranſferred to that of Grenoble, the twentieth of Auguſt, 1496, which is very different from what they relate. They would likewiſe have ſeen many other accounts reſpecting this prelate; but all this is wanting in the printed Journal.

I muſt confeſs that there is an error alſo in the manuſcript which I have before me, and which is ſuppreſſed in the printed copy, either deſignedly, or by chance. Burcard reports, that the firſt of January, 1498, the pope had ſaid, that his ſixty-ſeventh year was juſt expired. The edition of Eccard does not ſay more; but the manuſcript adds, that he was born on the firſt day of the week, the firſt day of the month, the firſt day of the year, and the firſt day of the pontificate of Eugenius IV. There is an overſight, at leaſt, as to this latter epocha; for it is univerſally allowed, that Eugenius IV. was elected pope in the firſt part of March; and the pope had juſt ſaid, he was born on the firſt day of January.

I ſhall conclude here the account of the manuſcript, which contains the ſecond part of the Journal of Burcard. That which I have in hand, ends with the year 1502, which extends only to the death of Alexander VI. who lived until November, 1503. The Journal of Burcard is continued in another of the king's

king's manuſcripts, which relates the death of Alexander VI. and includes the ſhort pontificate of Pius III. and the three firſt years of the pontificate of Julius II. to the ſixteenth of May, 1506, the date of Burcard's death. I ſhall ſpeak of it in a ſeparate article, and thereby finiſh a complete account of Burcard's Journals; of which, there was but a ſmall part, and even that imperfectly known till this time.

AN

ACCOUNT

OF THE

JOURNAL of BURCARD.

THIRD *and* LAST PART.

Reſpecting the Pontificate of Pius III. and the three firſt years of that of Julius II.

Manuſcript of the King, indorſed 5163, among the Latin Manuſcripts.

By M. de BREQUIGNY.

NOTHING has yet been printed of what this manuſcript contains, excepting about one page, which is at the end of the extracts of Burcard's Journal, publiſhed by Leibnitz, after the Wolfenbuttel manuſcript; and by Eccard, after Leibnitz. To which may be added, ſome quotations, which Odoric Raynaldi has inſerted in his annals*, but of which, he ſeems not to have known the true author†; as I ſhall have occaſion to obſerve, in ſtating that the manuſcript, I am going to ſpeak of, is the ſequel of the

* *Raynaldi Annales Eccl. Tom. IX, page* 540, *and paſſim.*

† He cites, *Manuſcript of the Vatican, ſide* 4, without mentioning the author. When he elſewhere cites the Journal of Burcard, it is under the title of *Diarium Burcardi.*

Journal

Journal of Burcard, of whom I have related the two firſt parts.

This may, with much reaſon, be looked upon as anecdotes. I find it but in one manuſcript of the King's Library, (indorſed as above) where it takes up 163 ſheets. The manuſcript is on paper, in folio, of a ſmall ſize, the writing of the 16th century, and in an Italian hand. The ſame manuſcript contains another copy of the ſame work, of a different writing, but of the ſame time. It is leſs complete; for the copyiſt has expunged or abridged ſeveral places. It begins only at the death of Pius III. whereas, the copy that precedes it, begins at the death of Alexander VI. and is an uninterrupted ſequel of the two firſt parts of Burcard's Journal. This ſecond copy is not without its utility, though it is not very correct; it has ſerved me ſeveral times to correct many faults in the text of the former.

The reſt of the manuſcript is filled with an ample table of contents, or rather a kind of abridgment of a Journal, which may ſerve as a continuation to that of Burcard, and extends, from the 16th of Auguſt, 1506, to Palm Sunday, 1512. I have found, that the Journal ſo abridged, is that of Paris de Graſſis, at firſt colleague, then ſucceſſor of Burcard, in the office of maſter of the ceremonies. I intend to give the account thereof; but I ſhall only employ myſelf on that of Burcard for the preſent.

The part that remains to be examined, offers few important facts. Little could be ſaid of the pontificate of Pius III. who ſcarcely enjoyed the tiara. That

That of his ſucceſſor, Julius II. laſted almoſt ten years; but Burcard did not live longer than the three firſt; and this pope had not yet diſplayed that ardent and reſtleſs ambition, that avidity of glory and power, which rendered his reign ſo productive of intereſting events. One of the moſt remarkable ſubjects to be found in the manuſcript I am examining, belongs to the pontificate of Alexander VI. it is the account of his death.

Nothing is more diſcordant than the relations of his death, among even contemporary hiſtorians. The moſt part have pretended that he died by poiſon, which he had deſigned for ſome cardinals; that it was preſented to him by miſtake, in the vineyard of cardinal Cornelo, and that he expired immediately after having taken it. On the contrary, Burcard avers that he died at Rome, after an illneſs which laſted ſix days, and of which he relates the progreſs.

Alexander had been attacked by the ague the 12th of Auguſt, 1500. It appeared at firſt to be a quotidian: he was bled the 15th, and it ſeemed to prove a tertion; the 17th he took phyſic, but the next day, the illneſs, inſtead of ſubſiding, augmented ſo much, that his life was deſpaired of. He was confeſſed, and received the viaticum during the maſs, which was celebrated in his chamber, and at which five cardinals aſſiſted. Towards the evening, the extreme unction was adminiſtered to him, and he died a few moments after.

So circumſtantial an account, ſeems much to carry an appearance of truth; but the hatred they entertained

tained for Alexander VI. was a ſufficient reaſon for collecting, with avidity, the falſe reports of poiſoning, which the ſame hatred had doubtleſs ſpread abroad. For this reaſon, Raynaldi, in his Annals, has preferred the teſtimony of Burcard's Journal, which he cites, to the common opinion of hiſtorians, but without naming the author; and only as an ancient journal, which ſeemed worthy of credit. Thoſe that wrote afterwards, have added, without any authority, that this was the journal of the family of Borgia; and it was probable, that they had ſought to reſerve the memory of a pope of their family. This is what the continuator of the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of Fleury gives us to underſtand, who, however, alledges no other authority than the Annals of Raynaldi, where nothing like this is to be met with. It may not then be improper to add weight to the teſtimony of the journal cited by Raynaldi, to prove that this journal is really Burcard's, and this will not be difficult. It is undiſputed that it is written by a maſter of the ceremonies to the pope's chapel; the author repreſents himſelf in every page, as diſcharging the functions of that office. He ſays, moreover, in divers places, that he was called *John**. Now this John, made biſhop of Horta, by Julius II. and who was at the ſame time maſter of the ceremonies; it is expreſsly ſaid, in a note, where the date of his death † is marked, at the end of this very journal, that his name was *John Burcard.*

* *Ego Joannes Epiſcopus Ortanus*, Manuſcript, *fol.* 133. *Conſecravit* *** me *Ortanum*, &c. Manuſcript, *fol.* 90. *verſo.*

† *Joannes Brocardus, Epiſcopus Ortanus. Capellæ Smi. D. N. Papæ, magiſter ceremoniarum. See* Manuſcript, *fol.* 161.

Alexander

Alexander, in his laſt moments, ſeems to have been forgetful of his daughter Lucretia, whom he had too fondly loved, and his ſon, (who was then ſtiled the duke of Valentinois) of whom he was ſo fond in his life. He did not ſee them during the whole continuance of his illneſs, and even forbore to mention them. The duke was ſick himſelf when his father expired. As ſoon as he knew of his death, he charged a man who was devoted to him, to lay hold on the treaſure which the pope had amaſſed. This man, repairing to the palace, well accompanied, ſummoned the cardinal Caſanova, to deliver him the keys of the treaſure, threatening to throw him out of the window. The cardinal terrified, delivered the keys, and the treaſure was carried off. There were only two trunks filled with ducats. It was not until after this exploit, that the death of the pope was made public. Immediately, his ſervants plundered the furniture of his chamber, according to cuſtom. "They ſpared," ſays Burcard, "only the tapiſtry, chairs, and ſome "cuſhions." But when they took an inventory, they found in the other parts of the palace, a quantity of jewels and plate. The chapel alone filled eight large trunks, and a ſmall box of cypreſs wood contained rings and jewels to the value of 25,000 ducats.

Alexander was become ſo much the object of public reſentment, that it was thought neceſſary to ſecure his body from outrage, when he was carried into the church of St. Peter. They durſt not expoſe him in the body of the church, but placed him in the choir, of which they took great care to ſhut the gate.

Burcard

Burcard ſeems to remark an incident, which added ſtill to the horror of his memory: that immediately after his death, his face was covered with a frightful blackneſs; his lips half open, diſcovered a tongue ſo ſwollen, that it filled the mouth entirely; never, adds this writer, has ſo hideous an aſpect been ſeen. When he was carried to the chapel where he was to be ſhut up in his coffin, he was attended neither with torches nor prieſts. The labouring people who carried it, beſtowed a thouſand marks of inſult and contempt upon it. The coffin happening to be too ſmall, they forced the carcaſe into it by violence. They revenged themſelves of the forced reſpect which they had paid him, during his life. He was expoſed in ſevere epigrams, where all his crimes were recalled to memory. Burcard relates ſome of them. Shall we believe, that the author who has preſerved thoſe details, would have falſely deviſed the laſt illneſs of the pope, to conceal from poſterity the iniquitous project to which his death has been attributed?

Burcard, who did not write his Journal for the public, ſpared no one. His diſtinguiſhing characteriſtic, was an undiſguiſed veracity. Ventura, biſhop of Maſſa, truſted with a part of the expenditure of the pope's funeral, and of the enſuing conclave, did not conduct himſelf with fidelity: Burcard is not ſilent about it. He reveals, that this prelate permitted the illicit peculations of the workmen, with whom, ſaid he, I believe he ſhared. We have ſeen in other accounts of his Journal, ſeveral ſpecimens of his candour and openneſs.

I ſhall

I ſhall not dwell on the obſequies of the deceaſed pope, nor of the preparations of the conclave, to give him a ſucceſſor. Theſe details are eſſential in the Journal, but I think it not proper to relate them, unleſs they preſent ſome ſingularity. I ſhould with more willingneſs expatiate on the diſorders that ſprung up at Rome after the death of Alexander, if they were not deſcribed at large by hiſtorians. I ſhall content myſelf by obſerving, that after the obſequies, the cardinals entered the conclave the 16th of September, 1503; that in the firſt ballot, the cardinal of Amboiſe, that famous miniſter of Lewis XII. had eleven voices out of thirty-four; but that deſpairing of ſucceſs, and having united his faction with that of the cardinal of Sienna, Francis Piceolomini, the latter was elected the 22d of the ſame month, by a majority of twenty-four voices.

It is known, that this new pope, who was the nephew of Pius II. took the name of Pius III. He had manners and virtues; but what perhaps contributed moſt to procure ſuffrages, was his old age and infirmity. The pretenders to the tiara preferred the placing it on a head they conjectured would not long wear it. They were not miſtaken. Pius III. elected the 22d of September, was ordained prieſt the 29th, conſecrated biſhop the 1ſt of October; crowned pope the 8th; fell ſick the 12th, and died the 17th.

He had witneſſed a kind diſpoſition towards Burcard. He had deſigned him for the biſhopric of Horta, permitting him either to keep his place of maſter of the ceremonies, or to give it in exchange of

ſome other benefice, but forbade him to ſell it. We ſhall ſee, in a moment, that this biſhopric was conferred on him by the ſucceſſor of Pius III. and that he always preſerved his place of maſter of the ceremonies.

The cardinals did not foreſee the opening of the conclave to form their cabals. From the 29th of October, Julian of Rovera, cardinal of St. Peter-a-Vinculi, ſecured to himſelf the intereſt of the duke of Valentinois, and of the ſuffrages of the Spaniſh cardinals. They entered the conclave the 31ſt, and that very evening it was reſolved, that Julius of Rovera ſhould be elected pope. Every one preſſed, during the night, to make his compliments: Burcard did as the others. The promiſe of the biſhopric of Horta was continued to him. He was moreover promiſed a fine mule, a cope, and a rochet, and the promiſe was fulfilled. It is likely that the compliments of the cardinals had alſo their reward. The next day, the election unanimouſly fell on De la Rovera, who aſſumed the name of Julius II. They put on his finger the fiſherman's ring, which Pius III. had worn; but immediately they preſented him another, with his name. They had prepared it before hand, ſo aſſured were they of his election.

He at firſt ſhewed himſelf grateful towards thoſe who had ſerved him, and treated the duke of Valentinois well; but he was not long before he quarrelled with him. The conſequence of thoſe broils being known, I need not ſpeak of them. Julius at firſt affected ſome complaiſance towards the cardinal of Amboiſe, who, after having been his rival for the tiara, concurred in his election.

election. They deliberated in ſeveral conſiſtories upon what they might grant to him. The cardinals ſtrenuouſly oppoſed his being nominated legate in France, and wiſhed he might be induced to deſiſt from this demand, *for the honour of the king of France, and his own*, ſays Burcard. Theſe expreſſions ſeem to ſuppoſe, that the title of a legate was looked upon as beneath that of the firſt miniſter of the king of France; yet the cardinal of Amboiſe had borne it, under the pontificate of Alexander VI. Notwithſtanding theſe oppoſitions, he again obtained this legation, to which the pope added that of Avignon.

Burcard received, at the ſame time, new teſtimonials of the pope's favour towards him. He had nominated him biſhop of Horta; and he granted him the diſtinction to wear the ſurplice over the rochet, in the chapel, before he was conſecrated; and put him on the ſame eſtabliſhment as the other prelate of the palace. At laſt, the 9th of April 1504, Burcard was conſecrated biſhop. He relates the ceremonies with ſatisfaction; but as they contain nothing particular, I ſhall not dwell upon them.

I ſhall ſay nothing more of the coronation of this pope, which took place the 1ſt of December preceding. The whole went on conformable to the coronation of Innocent, of which I have ſpoken elſewhere.

We find that the ſtercorary chair was not made uſe of at the coronation of Pius III. becauſe of his infirmities, was again brought forth. We alſo ſee the ſupplication of the Jews for the confirmation of their laws. A Spaniſh rabbi, phyſician to the pope, took the

lead, and delivered a long diſcourſe, to which the pope anſwered in the uſual form, which I have related in another place.

I have hitherto given a continued analyſis of the manuſcript which I am now examining. The reſt contains but a few facts, better known elſewhere, and tedious details, which few readers are curious to know. I ſhall content myſelf with extracting a few particulars, which ſeem beſt to merit being collected.

Burcard makes mention of a prejudice, which undoubtedly was then more general than at preſent, but which ſubſiſts ſtill among vulgar prejudices. He thought that the temperature of each month of the year was exactly prognoſticated by that of each of the twelve days immediately following Chriſtmas; conſequently he reports the temperature of thoſe twelve days after Chriſtmas 1503; but he does not tell us whether the event juſtified his opinion.

He gladly relates the leaſt particulars that perſonally concerns him; and reports them with an uncommon frankneſs. He ſays, that two days after his conſecration, aſſiſting at the diſtribution of the bleſſed Agnus, he went firſt, with the other biſhops, (the mitre on his head), to receive the Agnus from the pope's hand; then, taking off his mitre, he returned again to receive it, as maſter of the ceremonies, which, he adds, made the pope laugh.

It is with the ſame ſimplicity he relates the adventure that befel the ambaſſador of Venice on the ſame day. This ambaſſador, advancing towards the pope to receive the Agnus, was run againſt ſo roughly by one

one of the firſt magiſtrates of Rome, that he would have fallen, had not Burcard ſupported him. The magiſtrate was reprimanded upon the ſpot by the pope; but the ambaſſador exaſperated withdrew, without accepting his Agnus. It was in vain that the pope endeavoured to recall him: he anſwered undoubtedly with a little too much humour, "That he did not "much care for the wax; that there was plenty at Venice, "and that it was from thence that Rome ſent to fetch it." The pope ſeemed not affected by this ſpeech; he felt that ſatisfaction he owed to the dignity of an ambaſſador; and he puniſhed the magiſtrate, by depriving him of his office.

Julius, in the beginning of his pontificate, courted the different potentates, and was not willing to give offence to any. The kings of France and Naples then both pretended to the kingdom of Naples; and by this title, they both preſented to the pope the genets which the king of Naples ought to offer as a token of homage on St. Peter's day. The ambaſſador of France offered his firſt; the ambaſſador of Spain preſented another afterwards, and read a long proteſtation he had prepared againſt what the ambaſſador of France had juſt done. The pope accepted the two genets, ſaving, he ſaid, his own rights and thoſe of others.

A conteſt, nearly of the ſame nature, happened the following year, at an audience which the pope gave to the ambaſſadors of allegiance of France. The allegiance was read in French, and then interpreted in Italian. The king took the titles of king

of France, Naples, and Jeruſalem, and duke of Milan. The ambaſſadors of Spain, who were preſent, proteſted againſt it; and repreſented, that the kingdom of Sicily belonging to the king their maſter, who having the inveſture and peaceable poſſeſſion thereof, they could not, without prejudice to him, permit the king of France to aſſume the title of king of Naples. The French ambaſſadors anſwered, that the poſſeſſion of Sicily by the king of Spain, was only poſſeſſion in act, but that the king of France had received the inveſture, not recently, but from time immemorial. The pope having impoſed ſilence on the two parties, received the allegiance of France; and it was, adds Burcard, with reaſon. I relate this fact the more readily, as it contradicts what other writers have advanced, that Lewis XII. ceaſed to take the title of king of Naples ſince 1503. It was not, if we may mention it in this place, until the treaty of Blois, on the 22d of October, 1505, ſix months after the obedience I am ſpeaking of, that Lewis XII. conſented to abandon the titles of king of Naples and of Jeruſalem. However, this prince offered the genet once more, as king of Naples, on the day of St. Peter, of the ſame year, 1505. The ambaſſador of Spain alſo offered one the ſame day, and by the ſame title, as he had done the laſt year. This ambaſſador, ſays Burcard, with his uſual openneſs, was very bold, very indiſcreet, and unguarded in his ſpeaking. The conteſts of the laſt year having given apprehenſions of ſome active meaſures on his part, the precaution

precautions were taken to prohibit the ambaſſadors from coming with any other retinue, except four perſons on foot, without arms. The pope himſelf was not willing to receive the homage perſonally. However, all paſſed peaceably; the ambaſſador of France delivered himſelf in a few words, that of Spain read a long proteſtation, and the two genets were received as the preceding year, but only by a cardinal in the pope's name.

Italy, at the ſame time, groaned under various ſcourges. The two firſt days of the month of January, 1505, there was an earthquake, which overthrew, or conſiderably damaged, near 4000 houſes. It might perhaps be of ſome uſe to mark the preciſe dates and effects of theſe great commotions of the globe, which cotemporary writers mention. I ſhall add then, that the 25th of the month of January, there was a dreadful ſtorm at Rome, interrupted by intervals with an appearance of the ſereneſt weather. Burcard, in deſcribing it, ſeems ſo terrified, that he concludes his narrative with recommending himſelf to God.

Another ſcourge, more dangerous, ſays Burcard, deſolated Rome. Burcard ſpeaks of ſeveral conſiderable perſons whom the plague carried off this year; the patriarch of Alexandria, at the end of May; and the cardinal Aſcanius Sforza, in the month of July.

This contagion favoured the commiſſion of crimes. Burcard mentions a phyſician, who, after having ſucceſſively ſeduced his two nieces, poiſoned the one, and ſtrangled the other. He delivered the latter to

the people charged with interring the diſeaſed carcaſes, as one who died of the plague; but they perceived the nature of her death. The culprit was arreſted, and confeſſed his crimes. He was condemned to the puniſhment he deſerved; but this was mitigated in conſideration of his relations, and he was beheaded. His name was Perſona, and he had been thirty years phyſician to the cardinal of Saterno.

I ought not to omit ſpeaking, from Burcard, of a medal which Julius II. had ſtruck in 1506, on the occaſion of building the church of St. Peter. The pope laid the firſt ſtone the 18th of April of that year. This ſtone was a marble of about thirty palms long, two in breadth, and three fingers in thickneſs. The following inſcription was engraved on it: "*Julius II. Pontifex Maximus, hanc Baſilicam fere col-*" *labentem reparavit, Anno Domini* MCCCCCVI. *Pon-*" *tificatus ſui Anno* III." Under this ſtone was placed a covered veſſel, in which two golden medals, of fifty ducats, together with ſeveral others of braſs, had been put. They exhibited on one ſide the head of the pope, and on the other the figure of the edifice. I do not find it among the collection of medals of the popes, publiſhed by Dumolinet and Bonanni.

Burcard tranſmits us a few particulars of the private life of Julius. In ſpeaking of a report given by the vice-chancellor, where, among other gueſts, there were five cardinals and ſix women, he ſays, that in this number, there was a daughter of the pope, named Felicia. Thus the manners of Julius have not, at all times been unexceptionable. However, his ruling paſſion

paſſion was ambition, which did not diſplay itſelf in its full force, until after the death of Burcard.

The latter, till his death, experienced favours from Julius; he had been made referendary of grace, the 9th of April, 1504. Three weeks before his death, he had obtained the appointment to a place of abreviator, and the pope had gratuitouſly diſpatched him the ſignature. He appriſes us that he had been robbed ſix weeks before. A man had ſecretly introduced himſelf into his houſe, and having forced the lock of his apartments, had carried off his money and jewels; but he was ſtopped before he could make his eſcape, and was conſtrained to return the whole. Burcard did not bring the culprit to puniſhment; and he expreſſes the manner in which he ſent him away, in terms which manifeſted at once the goodneſs of his heart, and the ſimplicity of his manners. *Feci eum expelli de domo ad Diabolum qui eum conculcet ad meritum ſuum.*

Burcard died about two months after, on the third hour of the night, Saturday, the 16th of May, 1506. I find his death mentioned in the article which ends his Journal. He is ſtiled, as I obſerved before, biſhop of Horta, and maſter of ceremonies of the pope's chapel: he is there named John Brocard; it is one of the ways his name was written. He was buried the day following in the monaſtery of Santa Maria a Populo. This article has been added to his Journal by one of thoſe who aſſiſted at his funeral, and who ſeems to have had the intention of continuing his Journal; but this continuation extends only to the end of May, that

is,

is, during fifteen days, and takes up but two ſheets of the manuſcript which I have in my hands.

Nothing remains now to mention concerning the Journal, the account of which I am at this time concluding. It has been ſhewn, that the principal matter conſiſts in a narrative of the ceremonial of the court of Rome; and that there occur, at the ſame time, ſome intereſting anecdotes. If this Journal is not equally important to all claſſes of readers, by the nature of the facts it has preſerved for us, I believe it may be affirmed at leaſt, that it is always valuable, both as to the accuracy of the details, and the authority of the teſtimonials.

As for the reſt, the ceremonial of the court of Rome ought not to be looked upon as totally diveſted of importance. There was formerly ſo much attached to it, that it was even an object of myſtery; and at the time of Burcard, they ſtill held ſcrupulouſly ſecret, the writings that had been compoſed on this ſubject. It was but in 1516, under Leo X. that a Roman ceremonial was printed for the firſt time. The work was publiſhed at Venice, with the pope's permiſſion; but Paris de Craſſis, who was then maſter of the ceremonies, and who had been ſo to Julius II. jointly with Burcard, oppoſed this publication, and contended for nothing leſs than the burning of the book, with the editor; happily, he obtained neither. Curious details may be found thereon, at the beginning of the ſecond volume of the *Muſeum Italicum*, where the learned Mabillon has collected divers ancient ceremonials of the court of Rome. Thus, though

though the Journal of Burcard ſhould not be conſidered but relatively to the ceremonial, it deſerves being publiſhed.

The learned had deſired it a long time; but to procure a compleat and correct edition, it would be requiſite to compare carefully the different manuſcripts, and thoſe I have pointed out would be of great ſervice.

AN

AN

ACCOUNT

OF A

GREEK LEXICON.

From the King's Library, Manuſcript 2408.

Par M. DE ROCHFORT.

BEFORE I enter into the examination of the important work which I had the good fortune to diſcover, I muſt beg leave here to ſet forth the firſt object I had in view, in the ſearch of the manuſcripts, which brought me acquainted with it.

We know how much the fables of Æſop, which Planudes has given us, have been disfigured by the monk, who ſeems to have lived towards the end of the fourteenth century. An Engliſh author, Dodſley, at the end of the life of Æſop, written by him, regrets, with reaſon, that we have not a more judicious collection of theſe fables, taken from authentic manuſcripts; at the ſame time obſerving, that theſe manuſcripts were anterior to the age of Planudes. Boyle ſpeaks of a manuſcript copy of theſe fables of the thirteenth century, which belonged to Voſſius, and ſays, this manuſcript was at Leyden. This Fabri-

cius

cius doubts of. Father Montfaucon, in his *Diarium Italicum*, had promiſed to publiſh the life of Æſop with the fables, as they were before Planudes, taken from a manuſcript of the monaſtery of Santa Maria, at Florence. Having heard, or read, that there was in the king's library, a manuſcript of the fables of Æſop anterior to Planudes, I thought it would be rendering a ſervice to literature, could I ſucceed in making this manuſcript public. After all the neceſſary reſearches in the catalogue of the manuſcrips, I found an indication of a manuſcript of the year 1270, which, among other works, announced ſome fables of Æſop: *Fabulæ quædam Æſopi, verſibus Iambicis.* I flew to the manuſcript, and examined the index which was at the beginning. This index placed the fables page 217; but I ſought them in vain, and did not find them until page 221. They have for title theſe words: Μῦθοι Αἰσώπου. I peruſed them with eagerneſs, and I had little difficulty in perceiving that theſe fables, only twelve in number, were fables of Æſop, dreſſed in Iambic verſes, by Gabrias, or Babrias, or rather by the monk Ignatius, who had publiſhed them under the name of Gabrias. I conſulted the editions of that fabuliſt, and found all the fables of the manuſcript, except one. I obſerved only in theſe editions, either of Baſil or Oxford, ſome different leſſons, which were almoſt all better, in my opinion, than the manuſcript; and I was the leſs recompenſed for my trouble, as the only fable I found in the manuſcripts, which was not in the printed editions, did not ſeem to me worth mentioning. One hardly

hardly knows how to draw any morality from them; and as for the ſtyle, though it has the obſcure conciſeneſs of that of the falſe Gabrias, I do not know it ought to be aſcribed to him. Be it as it may, I ſhall here offer the fable with all the defective readings of the manuſcript:

Μῦς ἔκφερε μῦν, ἔργον ὄαΓ' ἀσιλέιας,
ἅς χάλκες βλέπονΓες, ἔιτασαν γέλως,
ὁ μῦς δ' ἔτι ζῶν, μεϛὸς ἔιπε δακρύων.
ὡσ οὐδὲ μῦν δύναϛθε τρέφειν κἄν ἕνα.

Here is a literal tranſlation of this fable: *Mus exportabat murem evanidum fame, quos fabri ærarii videntes traxerunt riſum; mus verò ſuperſtes, lacrymis refertus dixit: quòd quidem non potuiſtis unum tantùm & nutrire.* The meaning is, a mouſe was carrying out of its hole another mouſe ſtarved with hunger. Some ſmiths happening to ſee them, burſt out into laughter, "You "have great reaſon to laugh," anſwered the ſurviving mouſe, melting in tears, "you that have not where-"withal to nouriſh one mouſe."

This fable is not to be found among thoſe of Æſop, or Gabrias; however indifferent it may be, I thought proper to make it public.

After being thus deluded in my hopes, I ſearched in the manuſcript for ſomething to indemnify me. I ſtopped at the moſt conſiderable work of the volume; it contains 194 ſheets, written on both ſides, and the whole manuſcript in 4to. has only 228. It is in the account I am now giving of this work, that I ſhall examine what reſpects the former age and writing of the manuſcript.

I confeſs,

I confeſs, that notwithſtanding the extent of this work, I ſhould not have thought of producing it, was it not for the Latin tranſlation of the title, as it ſtands in the index, and which I here relate: *Collectio dictionum facta ex variis libris cùm Scripturæ veteris ac novi Teſtamenti, tùm externorum, ſive ethnicorum.* This title did not promiſe any thing intereſting for lovers of the Greek language; I wanted to ſee the original title, and I read: Συναγωγὴ* λέξεων συλλεγεῖσα ἐκ διαφορῶν βίβλων τῆς παλαιᾶς τε φημιγραφῆς καὶ τῆς νέας, καὶ αὐτῆς δήπε τῆς ταύρατειεν, which may be rendered thus: *Collectio verborum facta ex variis libris tùm veteris, tùm novæ & quoque paſſim extraneæ dictionis.* I make uſe of this term to expreſs the word φημιγραφὴ, which is obſolete, and compoſed of the word φῆμις, which, according to Heſychius, ſignifies, *verbum*, and γραφὴ, *deſcriptio, commentatio.* This title, which preſented me a collection of antique, modern, and even foreign words, excited my curioſity. Yet previous to my elating myſelf with the hope it flattered me with, I proceeded to ſee whether the tranſlation of the Latin title that ſtands in the index, could have been ſupported by the nature itſelf of the work, and, if totally falſe, as it apparently is, if it might not be at leaſt juſtified by the exact idea it gave to this vocabulary. I was much ſurpriſed, when caſting my eyes on the

* It appears by the word λέξεων, and a number of other places of the manuſcript where the word λέξις is made uſe of to ſignify *vox, verbum*, that M. de Villoiſon has ſuffered himſelf to be deceived by M. Runkenius, when he aſſerted in a note on Apollonius, page 8, that the word λέξις denoted a rare and uncommon expreſſion.

work,

work, I found nothing or almoſt nothing, that could reſpect the Old or New Teſtament; I only met towards the end of the fourth page with ſome Hebrew names, as thoſe of Abias and Abimeleck; and a cloſer inſpection of the manuſcript, brought to me to ſeveral others, ſcattered in this vocabulary, but which do not bear any proportion with the multitude of words drawn from Homer, Heſiod, Pindarus, Antiphron, Herodotus, Ariſtophanes, Demoſthenes, finally of a great part of the ancient authors, which are often quoted with examples taken from their works. Thus I had ſoon reaſon to know, that the work perfectly anſwered the original title, and this vocabulary was a collection of ancient and modern, and even foreign expreſſions, including in this latter claſs, the Hebrew names, which are generally reported with their ſignification in Greek, and ſome Arabian and Syriac words, as μαζουρος, μαγιε, μαανα, and even Phenicians, as the word βηρ, τὸ φρέαρ *puteus**.

I alſo found, without difficulty, that it abounded in various expreſſions, relating to hiſtory, geography, natural hiſtory, grammar, philoſophy, and even to theology. I further perceived, that the words were often brought back to their original root; and that the author of this vocabulary had abided cloſely by the etymologies. I then no longer doubted that the Greek title of this lexicon, was completely made good, and that the learned, who had tranſlated it as it is in the

* The manuſcript ſays, that this word μαανα is ancient, and that it is of the Syrian language. This word is not in Suidas, nor in Heſychius; he does not give the explanation.

index, had been led into error by precipitation, and perhaps by a note more ancient than the index, put on the cover of the manuſcript, whereupon is written: *Dictionarium veteris & Novi Teſtamenti.* Thoſe learned men might have taught that this ancient vocabulary was one of thoſe Fabricius ſpeaks of, who are confined to the explication of words made uſe of in the verſion of the Septuagint, and in the New Teſtament, which are alſo to be found in the libraries, under the name *Cyrillus of Alexandria.* Thus a kind of literary prepoſſeſſion might have deceived the firſt examiners of this manuſcript; and their error has hitherto held the lovers of the Greek language in an indifference, which left the merit of this lexicon ever unknown.

However, it was neceſſary, before I could congratulate myſelf on this diſcovery, to aſcertain whether this manuſcript was not ſimply a new one of Suidas, in this caſe, the fruit of this diſcovery would not have been ſo conſiderable. Great labour was not required to know the ſimilitude that exiſted between our vocabulary and that of Suidas. Each of the two lexicons preſents at firſt the very ſame words, and the ſame interpretations; many articles differ only by a greater or leſſer length, and frequently the faults that are in one lexicon, are punctually repeated in the other. But in purſuing the compariſon of the two lexicons, their difference becomes as ſtriking, as was their reſemblance at firſt. They have no more the ſame word, nor have the ſame words always, as we have obſerved, the ſame extent of explanation. In

Suidas,

Suidas, it is the hiſtorical part that predominates; in our lexicon, it is grammatical obſervations and etymologies. The names of towns are alſo more multiplied in the latter than in the former.

Yet it is when they ſeem to incline moſt to one another, that variations are to be found in them, which, though ſlight in appearance, contribute to the forming an eſtimate of them. Among a crowd of examples, I take the word Ἀβρεῖλην, a country of Myſia, according to the manuſcript, which alſo calls it Ἀβρετινή. We read, that this name has been given to that country, on account of the nymph Abrotia, ἀπὸ ἀβροτίας νύμφης. The reading of Suidas is different; he writes ἀπὸ βρεῖλιας νύμφης, but the text of Suidas is altogether erroneus. He ſays, that Ἀβρεῖλανή is a country called Myſia, Ἀβρεττανή, χώρα ἡ λεγομένη Μυσίας; our manuſcript aſſerts, that it is a country of Myſia, χώρα Μυσίας. It is the opinion of Stephen of Byſantium, by whom we find the whole ſentence as it ſtands in the manuſcripts. Thus the reading of the manuſcripts, confirmed by Stephen of Byſantium, may ſerve to correct Suidas.

In other places we find ſo perfect a reſemblance between the manuſcript and Suidas, that neceſſarily the one muſt have copied the other; or what, perhaps, is more likely, that they muſt have copied ſome anterior collection. I will take as an inſtance, the word βυζάντιον, Byſantium. The manuſcript ſays, that under Severus, the Roman emperor, this town was encompaſſed with a fine quadrangular wall, built with mill-ſtones, and that there were ſeven towers from

the gate of Thracia, ἐπὶ μὲν γὰρ ἦσαν ἀπὸ τῶν Θρακίων πυλῶν πύργοι. Here the ſenſe is ſuſpended; ſomething ſeems then to be wanted in the manuſcript; this neceſſary ſupplement is found in Suidas, who to this place, is perfectly ſimilar to the manuſcript, but who adds, from the gate of Thracia πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν καθήκοντες, to the ſea. Suidas moreover adds, that if a perſon ſpeaks at the foot of one of thoſe towers, his voice may be heard at the next. This paſſage on Byſantium has been copied from Xiphilin, and Kuſter has availed himſelf of the reading of this latter hiſtorian, to correct the text of Suidas, which is the ſame as that of the manuſcript. They both write, τετείχισο γενναίῳ τείχει πεποιημένῳ μυλίτῳ λίθῳ; Kuſter embraces the writing of Xiphilin, μυλίθε λίθε; thus the ſame fault being common to the manuſcript and to Suidas, they muſt conſequently have copied one another, or rather, that they both muſt have copied ſome compiler, that had maimed the paſſage.

If it was neceſſary to eſtabliſh a reſemblance between Suidas and the manuſcript, we muſt not attach ourſelves to words which have a received meaning, but to thoſe that are ſuſceptible of various interpretations; and I will take, as an inſtance, the word ἅλα, which is commonly expreſſed by *ſal*, and which the manuſcript explains by the word Κόπρια, *ſimus*, citing the verſe of Homer, in the Odyſſy (l. xvii.) ἐ σύ γ' ἂν ἐξ ὄικε σῷ ἐπιρράτῃ ἐδ' ἅλα δοίης. Longepierre, in his remarks on the *Oariſtus* of Moſchus, obſerves, that the ancients made uſe of the word *ſalt*, to ſignify the vileſt things; it is the general interpretation. But was ſalt really an abject

abject thing among the ancients? Salt was made uſe of in ſacrifices, and this is ſufficient why it could not have been deemed vile in their eyes. Suidas gives the word the ſame interpretation as the manuſcript; Kuſter, indeed, ſeverely cenſures Suidas, and criticiſes Calliſtratus, who made but one word of ἀδ' ἅλα, and explained this word ἄδαλα by κόπρια, ἢ λύμαλα. However, the interpretation of Suidas, confirmed by our manuſcript, would perhaps have ſuſpended the cenſure of Kuſter; for, in fact, whoever were the authors of the manuſcript, and of the lexicon, which we have under the name of Suidas, they were both Greeks, and muſt have known the ſignification of a word ſo common in their language. The expreſſion of Homer, ἀδ' ἅλα δοίης, proves not more delicate, indeed, but it is an expreſſion that was perhaps already proverbial, and the ſtile of proverbs is not commonly the moſt elevated. Thus, the reading of our manuſcript may ſerve to ſupport that of Suidas, and to correct the falſe interpretation of a paſſage of Homer and Moſchus.

If we ſhould wiſh for another ſtriking reſemblance between Suidas and our manuſcript, we may find it in the etymology, which both the one and the other give of the word ὑποκρίης. Agreeable to them, the ancients uſed to ſay, ὑποκρίνεσθαι, inſtead of ἀποκρίνεσθαι; and it is hence that the word ὑποκριτὴς ὁ ἀποκρινομενός τῷ χόρῳ, is derived. Thus the actor, ὑποκριτὴς, was he that anſwered to the choruſſes in tragedies or comedies.

I only intend hereby, as it may ſeem, to point out the leaſt common reſemblances; the bare opening of both lexicons could furniſh a great number of others, but which would not exhibit any thing peculiar and diſtinct. I ſhall only obſerve, that the manuſcript and Suidas, containing equally ſeveral articles of geography and hiſtory, have omitted the moſt known names, and only inſerted the moſt obſcure. As an inſtance, I will cite Ἀ'ξάκαινον, a town of Sicily, Ἀλωπέκοννησος, a town of Cherſoneſus. Amidſt the names of men I could cite Ἄ'ξρων, a grammarian of Phrygia or Rhodes, diſciple of Tryphon, and who exerciſed his profeſſion of ſophiſt at Rome. It is amazing that ſuch obſcure names ſhould be preferred in theſe lexicons, while ſo many illuſtrious ones are excluded.

But it is leſs the reſemblance between our manuſcript and Suidas, that it is incumbent on me to eſtabliſh, than the vaſt diſparity that ſubſiſts between them. The inſtance of this diſparity, which I have choſen out of many others, may, perhaps, be of ſome conſequence towards eſtabliſhing the ſeniority of our manuſcript; for how little ſoever we turn over this lexicon, it appears that moſt part of the words are explained either by analogical terms, or by circumlocutions that give the explanation; for inſtance, he defines the word ἔλεος, *miſericordia*, by theſe words, συμπάθεια σύμφορος, *ſympathia congruens*, ἢ ἑκάσιος λύπη ἐπ' ἀλλοτρίοις κάκως συνισαμένοις, *vel ſpontaneus dolor ſuper alios malè gerentes*. He afterwards defines the words ἐλεημοσύνη, ἑκούσιος λύπη ἐπ' ἀλλοτρίοις κακοῖς παρισαμένη, whence

whence we ſee, that the word ἔλεος, and the word ἐλεημοσύνη, have in our manuſcript the ſame ſignification, and that this latter word ἐλεημοσύνη, had not, in the time of the author of the manuſcripts, the ſame ſignification it had in Scripture, where this word ſignifies *alms*. It is in this latter ſenſe it has been interpreted by Suidas, who adds, that we are puniſhed when we do not give to thoſe that are needy. This word is not in Heſychius. Monſ. de Villoiſon ſeems then miſtaken, in looking upon this word ἐλεημοσύνη as abſolutely modern, ſince it is not only employed in Diogenes Laërtius, but alſo in our manuſcript, where it is taken in a different ſenſe than in Scripture. We may then conjecture, that the acceptation adopted by Suidas, being more modern than that of the manuſcript, the manuſcript is of older date than Suidas.

This would not place the author of the manuſcript in ſo remote an antiquity, ſince, according to Kuſter, Suidas lived under Alexis Comnenus, at the beginning of the twelfth century; but this may require ſome diſtinction. Undoubtedly Suidas lived about this epocha, but the vocabulary we have under his name did not come out of his hands, in the ſtate it is at preſent; it is acknowledged to have been conſiderably augmented by later hands; and it is, in all probability, from this ſucceſſive augmentation, made by copyiſts, or others, that the confuſion has ſprung, which reigns in it, as Kuſter himſelf acknowledges. This learned man remarks, that in a multiplicity of

articles, the paſſages extracted from different authors, are foreign to the article in which they are inſerted, and by no means contribute to elucidate the meaning of the word. Hence, as the collection of Suidas has been ſwelled by foreign hands, it is moſt likely that the original collection does not wholly belong to Suidas, and that there ſubſiſted before him ſome kernel, which has increaſed by his care, and perhaps our manuſcripts, where we find a part of the words of Suidas, with a plain and ſhort interpolation, without being obnoxious to the defects which Kuſter reproached the latter with; perhaps, I ſay, it includes the firſt germe of this collection, which afterwards increaſed. The augmentation I am ſpeaking of, is not ſo much the multiplication of articles, as the increaſe of the extent of each article; for I do not queſtion but our manuſcript, of which the articles are generally ſhorter than in Suidas, contains a greater quantity of words. The ſtudy I have beſtowed on both, affords me room to imagine, that our manuſcript could prove exceedingly valuable to any perſon, that ſhould intend to give a new edition of Suidas. Perhaps this manuſcript would ſerve to decide, with a critic ſuſpended in uncertainty, by the various readings of different editions of this lexicon: for inſtance, Kuſter remarks, at the article Ἀ῾ψαρις, that Portus had no notice of the *Editio princeps* of Milan, ſince he has adopted the writing of the editions of Aldus and Baſil, and that he has read, agreeable to theſe editions, συνεγράψαλο χρησμὰς τὰς κυλισμένας σκυθίνας, and he is of opinion, that

it

it ſhould be read Σκυθινὲς inſtead of Σκυθίνας; our manuſcript, however, confirms the editions of Baſil and Venice, and we may read diſtinctly Σκυθίνας; as for the reſt, the article is very ſhort, and ſeems to have been remarkably augmented in Suidas.

This is the fate which almoſt all the words relative to hiſtory in this dictionary have experienced; but it is not ſo with other words, and particularly thoſe which reſpect ancient philoſophy; for inſtance the word Energy, with all its different acceptations. This article takes up nearly two pages, and would perhaps be curious to know, but not the moſt eaſy to read and underſtand. This word is in Suidas, but a great deal ſhorter, and very different. Kuſter remarks, that Suidas has taken this word from ſome commentator of Ariſtotle; our manuſcript may undoubtedly have alſo adopted the interpretation of ſome other commentator; it is the ſame with ſeveral other words, as Σῶμα, *corpus*; Κινήσις, *motus*; οὐσία, *ſubſtantia*; Θεος, *deus*. This latter article is more copious than in Suidas, and very different; they both expreſs the principle perfectly conformable to our belief; the manuſcript gives for the firſt definition of God, οὐσία ἀνάιτιος αἰτία, a ſubſtance, cauſe of all, and without a cauſe. He adds, that the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt, have but one will, one wiſdom, one power; he defines him again an inviſible ſubſtance, a Spirit which our ſpirit cannot underſtand. This article which merits to be read, was without doubt borrowed from the writings of ſome father

ther of the church, as the word Energy has been taken from ſome commentator of Ariſtotle*.

If our manuſcript and Suidas differ eſſential in the articles we have juſt cited, they axactly agree in other articles copied in ſome kind from the Vulgate, as thoſe of Abias and Abimeleck, which are found at the firſt page of the manuſcript. There are ſtill other articles relative to our religion, as the word παράδεισος, which are ſtrictly ſimilar in Suidas and in the manuſcript.

It would be too tedious to relate all the different paſſages in which Suidas and the manuſcript coincide and differ; it is ſufficient to have pointed out the advantages they reciprocally have to each other. We ſee already that we may ſay of our manuſcript nearly what Erneſti has ſaid of Heſychius, that it is leſs inſtructive then Suidas as to hiſtory, but more copious as to the language.

This exuberance of terms which are not in Suidas, but are found in our manuſcript, inſpired me with the deſire of recurring to Heſychius, to compare him in his turn with our lexicon, the better to judge of the advantages this manuſcript may be poſſeſſed of.

Heſychius, according to Erneſti, compiled in one body the different particular vocabularies, publiſhed before him, and digeſted a lexicon which forms the

* I could add to what I have juſt ſaid, a number of words relative to phyſic, which Suidas has not ſpoken of, or which he at leaſt has not defined as a phyſician. See the words γῆ ἀὴρ, πῦρ, ὕδωρ. You will find the definition of thoſe four elements, and in that definition, a medley of ancient philoſophy, with the philoſophy of Moſes, which may claim ſome curioſity.

richeſt

richeſt treaſure exiſting of the Greek language. Fabricius pretends, that theſe different vocabularies Heſychius* had made uſe of, were of the ſame kind as thoſe which are aſcribed to Cyrillus†, and whoſe object was to explain the words of the Old and New Teſtament. The obſervations of theſe two literati augmented my curioſity; and the conformity I began to diſcover between the nature of Heſychius's work, and that of our manuſcript, added to my deſire of ſeeing how far this reſemblance between theſe two lexicons might be traced.

I was not long in perceiving that this reſemblance was far leſs perceptible then that between our manuſcript and Suidas, and yet that there were many words common to our manuſcript and Heſychius, which did not exiſt in Suidas; and *viſe verſa*, that there were many words in Suidas and our manuſcript, which are not to be found in Heſychius.

It would be too long and tedious to relate in this place all the words of this deſcription which we have met with; we ſhall confine ourſelves to cite ſome of them as they fall within our view, adding a few inſtances of words common to them both, but where the interpretation is different.

The firſt word that occurs is that of ἀγάπη. Every one knows what the *Agapes* were among the firſt Chriſtians. Heſychius profeſſed Chriſtianity; it is

† Heſychius, according to Kuſter, lived towards the year 500 of Jeſus Chriſt.

‡ There is in the library of Bremen, a lexicon in edit. intitled: Κυριλλου, ἐκ τῶν ἀπορουμένων λέξεις τῆς ἁγίας γραφῆς. See Fabricius, Bib. Græ. L. IV. ch. 35. p. 540. de Lexicis Bibliis.

then

then ſurpriſing that the word ἀγάπη ſhould have found no place in this lexicon any more than in that of Suidas. This word is in our manuſcript*; it is true that it is not expounded by the ſame ſignification which the firſt attached to it; but the acceptation the lexicon gives it, might probably have drawn on that which it had afterwards.

The manuſcript defines the word ἀγάπη, ἄσπασος πρόθεσις ἐπὶ τῇ φιλίᾳ τῦ φιλεμένυ, and which I would attempt to render by *a pleaſing ſurrender of friendſhip to our friend.* He adds, that it is a ſovereign preference which is given him above all other objects preſent or abſent: he ſays ſtill more, he calls it an identity of ſouls, συμψυχία. He adds ſtill, it is a concentration of all our thoughts toward a ſingle object which a man prefers to all others. Never undoubtedly was friendſhip more perfectly defined. How comes it that this word is not found in the lexicons, and how the author of our manuſcript, who has related ſo many expreſſions drawn from Scripture and the fathers, has been ignorant of the acceptation which the Chriſtians gave to this word? How, at length, could this word ſlip the memory of Heſychius or Suidas. If I ſhould venture a conjecture, I would ſay, that the author of the article of the manuſcript wrote before the time when the Chriſtians had brought into practice theſe repaſts of charity, known by the appellation of *agapes*; and that in Heſychius's, and ſtill more in Suidas's time, it had been for ages antiquated, and conſe-

* It is alſo in Cyrillus, but unattended with any Greek interpretation, as all the words of that Lexicon.

quently

quently loſt its true ſignification which it had carried for a ſhort duration only, although the verb ἀγαπάω from whence it comes, was ancient, and has already been uſed.

It is leſs amazing not to find, in the ancient lexicons, the word τείμα, which the manuſcript renders by ἀξιῶμα, citing the words of the apoſtle, Καί ὁ ἀπόστολος, (underſtood ἔφη or ἔλεγεν) ἕκαστος δὲ ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ τείμαλι, that is, adds the manuſcript, ἐν οἷς ἄξιος εσι. This expreſſion, which is totally obſolete, might have been overlooked by the authors of theſe lexicons. But there are others, which are miſſing, although they be in the analogy of the language, as the word ἐνθάιζω, ἀληθη λέγω. We cannot find the word βᾶφος, the name of a bird, which is likely the bos-taurus, which we call in French *butor*; the conformity of the Latin, French, and Greek, appellation, ſeems to evince it. The manuſcript which relates this word, obſerves that bulky and heavy people were characterized by βᾶφος περιφοιῖᾳ, *behold the roaming butor* (bittern). Neither is this word, nor the proverb, to be found in any lexicon.

But theſe examples of terms, which are not in Heſychius, are perhaps leſs inſtructive then the articles where we find the ſame words with different modifications. The word ἔγγονος, for inſtance, ſignifies in Heſychius the grandſon, υἱὸς υἱᾶ: this lexicon gives the ſame ſignification to the word ἔκγονος.

The manuſcript diſtinguiſhes theſe words, and pretends that the latter expreſſes the grandſon, and the other means the ſon, and they ſupport their different

ſignifications

ſignifications by the authority of Homer, οἰόςδ', οἰωνός τε Διὸς νεφεληγερέταο.

I might conſiderably prolong this chapter, if I ſhould adduce the ſeveral differences of this kind I have met with, but ſimple indications are, I think, ſufficient for the illuſtration of this account. I ſhall paſs now to the words in which our manuſcript, agreeing with Heſychius, as to acceptations, has the advantage to differ by citations which are not in the lexicon.

The word ἐλεὸν, in Heſychius, is here interpreted by, μαγειρικὴ τράπεζα; the manuſcript interprets it the ſame, but ſupports its interpretation by the authority of Ariſtophanes*, in citing the paſſage of that poet, which Alberti has related in his note, ἴσθι δή, (the particle δὴ is omitted in the manuſcript. The manuſcript cites moreover, Homer (p. 145.) and adds, that there is a kind of bird which bears the name of ἐλεὸν.

If theſe kind of references were more frequent, we ſhould almoſt flatter ourſelves with finding in the manuſcript, wherewithal to indemnify ourſelves for the loſs of thoſe which are no longer in Heſychius, and which, if we credit the learned, have been formerly there in abundance.

It is, however, theſe citations, ſuch as they are, and the different acceptations of the words, which render this manuſcript very valuable. Independent of the other advantages, of which it remains ſtill to ſpeak, I ſhall cite another example, derived from the

* See the Clouds of Ariſtophanes, Act. I. Sc. II.

word

word βλιμάζειν; Heſychius ſays that this word anſwers to that of θηλολαβεῖν; to preſs the breaſts. The manuſcript acknowledges at firſt another ſignification, which is this; ἀποσάζειν τὰ μέλιτος, *ſtillare ex melle*, he agrees in that with Suidas; but he adds, that this word anſwers alſo to that of ψηλαφεῖν, *attrectare*; and cites a paſſage of Crates, ὡς μαλακὸν κὶ τέρεν τὸ χρωτίδιον, ὦ θεὸι, κὶ ἐβλίμαζον αὐτὴν*. *Dii! quàm mollem cuticulam! & eam attrectabam.* This paſſage is reported in the *Etym. Magn.* where it is aſcribed to Cratinus; it is not in Suidas. The manuſcript adds finally, that the word βλιμάζειν, means properly to touch the breaſt and the belly, as do thoſe that buy birds; and cites afterwards theſe three words, without any name of author, but which are certain of ſome comic, βλιμάτομεν, ψηλαφῶμεν, ἐπιθυμῶμεν †.

Among the words taken by chance in this manuſcript lexicon, and for which we find alſo the quotation of ancient authors, we find the word βόσπορος. We ſee in our manuſcript that there were two Boſphori, the one of the Propontis, and the other of Thracia; we find then a whole paſſage drawn from Phylarcus; it is the adventure of Io, daughter of Cadmus, whom Juno, out of jealouſy, pricked with the *aſtrum*. Io, tormented by that ſting, like a cow, croſſed the Boſphorus ſwimming ‡.

* This diminutive is not in the lexicon.

† Heſychius gives to this word the ſame ſignification indeed, and grounds himſelf on Ariſtophanes, in his Comedy of Birds, but without any citation. That of Ariſtophanes has no connection with the three words cited in the manuſcript.

‡ This ſame paſſage is related by the *Etym. Magn.* and the commentators obſerve, that inſtead of *Cadmus*, we muſt certainly read *Inachus*; but the ſame fault is in the manuſcript.

But

But theſe are not all the advantages of the citation; we muſt look whether the lexicon of Heſychius, famed with reaſon for the explanation of words the leaſt common of the language, may not ſeem ſometimes inſufficient, and if our lexicon could not in that caſe ſupply it.

If for inſtance, to explain the word Καταχάθετον, we ſhould recur to Heſychius, we ſhould find for all explication the words ἐζ ἐναντιας. The note of the edition of Alberti ſays, that the lexicon of Cyrillus interprets it better. I am ignorant of what lexicon ‡ the commentator meant to ſpeak; but I find, in our manuſcript, an explication far more ſatisfactory; this word is interpreted τὸ ἀπὸ ὕψους εἰς βαθος διάςημα, and this interpretation is the ſame as that of Suidas.

The authority of our manuſcript may alſo ſerve to balance that of Heſychius, or perhaps to throw a new light on the interpretations he has given, as at the word μαγνῆτις, load-ſtone. Heſychius ſays that it is wrong to give it the name of the *ſtone of Heraclea*, becauſe there is this difference between the ſtone of Heraclea and of the load-ſtone, that the former attracts iron, and the latter ſilver. He cenſures Plato for having confounded them; he adds, that the ſtone of Heraclea has received that name from the city of Heraclea, in Lydia; and it is for that, that Sophocles has given it the name of *Lydian ſtone*. At laſt, ſays

‡ It is not in the collection made by father *Labbe*, the gloſſaries of Cyrillus, of Philoxenes, and other ancient lexicons. I ſhall obſerve here, that this collection has not the leaſt regard to our manuſcript. Alberti intended perhaps to ſpeak of the unpubliſhed manuſcript of Cyrillus, which is often cited in the notes of Heſychius.

the

the one names it Σιδηρίτις; and the other Ηρακλεῶτις. Here is the article as it ſtands in our manuſcript: the loadſtone, μαγνῆτις, is a ſtone that attracts iron; they call it *Sideretis*, *Heraclean*, and *Lydian*; it reſembles, in its colour, unpoliſhed tin*; they call it Heraclean, becauſe of its ſtrength; or rather becauſe it has been found at Heraclea, a town of Pontus; others ſay at Heraclea in Thracia. In comparing the two definitions, there will be little heſitation, I believe, in preferring that of the manuſcript. All naturaliſts have obſerved, that the loadſtone, in certain countries, reſembles unpoliſhed iron; and none of the ancient nor modern authors have ſpoken of a loadſtone that attracts ſilver.

It is alſo in our manuſcript that we could find wherewith to confirm the interpretations of Heſychius, which want the ſupport of authorities. We find, for inſtance, at the word Κνίζων, this ſingle interpretation, συκάμινα τέμνων, *morus abſcindens*. Alberti, to elucidate this paſſage, cites the words of the prophetic Amos, αἰπόλος ἤμην κνίζων συκάμινα, *caprarius eram, morus abſcindens*. But the manuſcript relates the words of St. Cyril, who ſays that the prophet was a goat-herd, κνίζων συκάωινα; that is to ſay, adds the manuſcript, "cutting the leaves of the mulberry-tree for the food "of the cattle." By this interpretation, the word Κνίζων, of the prophet Amos, and of St. Cyril, leaves no farther embarraſſment. I obſerve here, by the way,

* σιδηρῖτις, ἡράκλεια κι λυδία ἐμφερὴς τὴν χροιὰν ἀργῷ κι ἀκαθαρτῷ σιδήρῳ. The article of the Etym. mag. much reſembles that of our manuſcript.

that if the examination of this manuſcript could lead us to aſcribe it to St. Cyril, the citation of this writer, in the manuſcript, did ſcarcely permit us to inſiſt on this ſuppoſition.

In comparing, as we have juſt done, Heſychius and our manuſcript, and in pointing out the merits it may have over Heſychius, in ſeveral paſſages taken at random, we are far from the intention of inferring that our lexicon is in every reſpect ſuperior to Heſychius. It is too obvious, what vaſt labour there would be required, to draw an exact compariſon between them, and to decide of the greater or leſs utility they may be of for the ſtudy and knowledge of the Greek language. It would not be ſufficient to review all the words of Heſychius, and to compare them with thoſe of the manuſcript; it is neceſſary, not merely to collate the words of each lexicon, but, in ſome meaſure, to weigh them; we ſhould then be enabled to judge of their importance; and when their interpretations happen to be different, to appreciate their degree of exactneſs, and eſtimate the merit of the quotation. But how ſhall we determine on ſuch a matter?

If, in the courſe of our examination, we have ſeen our manuſcript ſometimes excel Heſychius, we have alſo ſeen the latter better comprehend the ſenſe of certain obſolete words, as ταλανίζει, which he expreſſes by the word θρηνεῖ, and which the manuſcript renders by the words ἄθλιον ἀποκαλεῖ. To this I ſhould ſtill prefer the interpretation given by Heſychius, of the word

word ἀδδήλυκτα, ἀμίαντα; which the manuſcript renders by τὰ μὴ μιαίνοντα: adding, that it is an expreſſion adapted to tragedy. Suidas is indeed entirely conformable to the manuſcript; but as their authority in theſe paſſages, where they agree, is but a ſingle and not a double authority, I ſhall not balance to prefer Heſychius to them, when the analogy of the language ſeems to me to be in his favour. How can we then, in this reſpect, pronounce upon theſe lexicons? But there is in our manuſcript other qualities which Heſychius cannot contend with. I am ſpeaking of the merit of the etymologies, of which this manuſcript abounds.

Every one knows that the knowledge of etymologies is valuable for the underſtanding of a language where almoſt every word, ſprung from a ſimple root, extends, multiplies itſelf, and increaſes like branches which ſhoot into many from the ſame ſtem. The etymologies of the moſt philoſophical language that has ever been ſpoken, where the primitive ideas are reduced to a ſmall number of ſigns, which by combination diſplay before us all that poetry and eloquence may have moſt excellent, does not reſemble the etymologies of the modern languages, nor even the Latin. The latter, as we know, borrowed a great deal from the Greek; the modern languages are, for the moſt part, a medley of ancient language, confounded with different idioms of the countries which have had the greateſt intercourſe and relation. The Grecian language drew, in ſome manner, all from its own

fund*; its roots, as ſimple as the firſt ideas of men, were the more fruitful, as they were not limitted to the expreſſion of one ſingle action, but that they ſtill repreſented all the ideas that were analogous. For inſtance, the only word Βῶ, according to our manuſcript, had four ſignifications, τρέφω, πατέω βότρυν, βαίνω, λέγω, *nutrio, uvam calco, incedo, loquor*, and by extenſion, *clamo*; theſe kind of roots, almoſt all of one or two ſyllables at moſt, combining among themſelves, and uniting with other words of the ſame ſimplicity, proved fit to expreſs all the modifications of the thoughts; and notwithſtanding the alterations they ſuffered, they always preſerved ſome analogy with their origin.

In conſidering the etymologies in this view, a lover of the Greek language would not, without concern, ſee a lexicon, where a great number of words are traced to their radix, and preſenting, by their decompoſition, ſimple combined ideas only, convert a word, which conveys nothing eſſential to the mind, into an energetic picture. For inſtance, the word ποσειδῶν †, which is become the proper name of Nep-

* I know that Plato ſays, that ſeveral Greek words were borrowed of Barbarians; but thoſe were ſimple terms, which remounted to the origin of the language, as the word πῦρ, he ſays, came from the Phrygians. The ſimplicity of the word made a Greek root of it.

I likewiſe know that there were ſeveral Latin words which the Greeks, in their intercourſe with the Romans, had appropriated to themſelves; but theſe kind of words were not incorporated in the language, and though naturalized, they were always exotic. However, it would ſtill be uſeful to collect, in one lexicon, all theſe words of Latin origin; and ours furniſhes ſeveral examples; as μίλιον, μέτρον γῆς, μιλίζω, μέτρω; and many others.

† Plato gives to this word another etymology; he derives it from ποδῶν δέσμος; ſo ποσειδῶν, agreeable to him, expreſſed the power which Neptune had of chaining the ſea. Thoſe were puns of Socrates, who wanted to throw the ſophiſts into perplexion.

tune,

tune, preſents us with no image; but if we conſider that this word is derived from σεῖν τὸ πεδίον, according to the manuſcript, and all other ſcholiaſts, then we behold the ſea beating the earth with its waves, and this image permits us no longer to forget the word that deſcribes it.

The facility of finding etymologies in the Greek language, has its advantages and its inconveniences. Plato and Socrates ridiculed, with much ſenſe, the abuſe that was made of it in their time, and the grammarians have not been more ſparing on this head than the ſophiſts. Yet the ſtudy of etymology will always be the firſt foundation of the Greek language, and a vocabulary as rich as ours in etymologies, will always for that reaſon alone be particularly ſought for.

I know that we poſſeſs already a lexicon, which, in this reſpect, is a real treaſure. The *Etymologicon magnum* ſeems to leave nothing to wiſh for, either by the multitude and variety of etymologies, or by abundance of terms little known, and which are there collected, or laſtly, by the multiplicity of citations of the ancient authors. However our manuſcript might ſtill have its merit after the *Etymologicon magnum*, either by the etymologies not exiſting in that vaſt collection, as that of the word ἄησυλος, of which it does not ſpeak*, or by the etymologies oppoſed to thoſe that are preſented in the other. For inſtance, at the word

* The manuſcript makes this word, which anſwers to that of ἡμαρτημένος, ſpring from the word αω, τὸ βλάπτω; he gives ſtill two other etymologies.

μάντευω, the manuſcript ſays that it comes from μῶ †, τὸ ζητῶ, ματεύω, and that it is from thence that the word μάντις, *vates*, is derived, and not from μανία, as ſome have thought. The author of the *Etymolog. magnum* has adopted the latter etymology, which the manuſcript condemns. It is impoſſible to compare one moment the Etymologicon and our Lexicon, without being aware of the reſemblance of paſſages between them; and without finding alſo ſome differences which it is impoſſible to account for in ſummary.

But as much as our manuſcript excels Heſychius and Suidas, by the etymologies it preſents us, ſo much it is ſuperior to the *Etymologicon magnum*, and other lexicons, by the grammatical knowledge it includes, and which revive for us a part of the works of the ancient grammarians, as Appollonius, Herodian, Methodius, &c. who are ſometimes cited. It will be ſufficient to read the words ἄρθρον, *articulus*; ῥῆμα, *verbum*; πρόθεσις, *præpoſitio*; συλλαβή, *ſyllaba*, &c. to get an idea of the reſearches the ancients had made in the ſtudy of the principles of their language. The difficulty of rendering in French the terms made uſe of in the ſole definition of theſe words, reſtrains me to barely pointing them out. I ſhall only obſerve, that the definitives made uſe of, are the ſame as thoſe our grammarians have continued to uſe. The verb, for inſtance, is a part of ſpeech which

† μῶ in the *Etymologicon magnum*: it is of thoſe monoſyllabical words which remounts to the creation of the language; as βλῶ το βάλλω, and ſeveral others.

has

has no caſe *; it deſigns the time, the numbers, and perſons, and conſtitutes action or paſſion, ἐνεργείνη ἢ πάθος περιεῶσα. All the definitions of the verb are included nearly in this rule; but thoſe very few words I tranſlate, evince how difficult it is to render with exactneſs the ſenſe of thoſe words taken grammatically.

Sometimes the manuſcript goes even to define the character of the letters, conſidered as elements of the language; he ſays that the letter *P*, of which is formed ῥέω, *fluo*, has ſomewhat humid and ſoft, and that this letter in a verſe flows like oil. He ſtates, very often, the difference which accents put on the ſignification of words. For inſtance; the word ἀγοραῖοι, with the circumflex on the firſt and laſt, means thoſe that frequent the market; whilſt the word ἀγόραιος, with the ſharp accent on the before and laſt, is added to ἡμέρα, and ſignifies the market-day. I know that we have a work of Cyril, which treats this ſubject in particular; but it is not leſs intereſting, to ſee how far our manuſcript may relate to Cyril's, and how much it differs †.

I could ſtill add, to enhance the value of this lexicon in the eyes of grammarians, that very often, at the end of regular or irregular verbs, we find almoſt all the tenſes, with their contractions, dialects, and licences, adopted in poetry, following it. I could cite, as an inſtance, the word Βιῶτο, ζησατο, which Heſychius and Suidas have reported, without preſenting

* Λέξις ἁπλοῦτος ἐπιδεκτικὴ χρόνου τε καὶ προσωπῶν, καὶ ἀριθμῶν.

† *Dict. Græc. cum interp. Lat. Cyrilli, opuſculum de dictionibus quæ variato accentu mutant ſignificatum.*

the different modes; as alſo the word δοάσσατο, and a thouſand others; but this would lead us too far.

I believe I have ſaid enough to demonſtrate the importance of the work of which I am now giving an account, and repreſented how intereſting it would be to lovers of the Greek language, that a lexicon which enjoys in itſelf alone, a part of the advantages ſcattered in the three ancient Greek lexicons, and poſſeſſing many others, ſhould at laſt appear in public. If it is momentous to the glory of letters, to revive a taſte for fine ſtudies, and conſequently for that of the Greek language, which has always been the foundation, I could not chuſe a more efficacious meaſure of them than to give the public a work worthy the attention of the learned, in a moment eſpecially, when the reſearches, ordered by the king into the manuſcripts of his library, attracting the eyes of Europe, would not fail to excite a general curioſity for a work brought from darkneſs, in which it has been ſo long buried.

It remains ſtill that we ſhould ſpeak of the form, writing, and age of the manuſcript. It is in quarto, on vellum, containing in all 228 ſheets, forming 456 pages; our lexicon alone takes up 388. All the articles are connected one with another, without any interlineation, and are diſtinguiſhed only by a capital letter with red ink, which we ſee at the head of the word that begins the article. The hand is generally fair, though filled with abreviations, which often render the reading very difficult. Theſe abbreviations are much varied, and it is but a great uſe of the manu-

ſcript

ſcript that may render us familiar with them. A part of thoſe abbreviations reſemble thoſe we find in the manuſcript of Apollonius, and of which M. de Villoiſon has explained the principal characters; and in this reſpect we cannot enough regret, that this learned man ſhould not have been acquainted with our manuſcript, when he publiſhed his Apollonius. He would not only have perceived great relations in their writing, but he would alſo have found, where to enrich his obſervations on Apollonius, and perhaps reform ſome advances that eſcaped him*.

He would alſo have found how to confirm what he aſſerts after Erneſti, that the verbs are very ſeldom put in the firſt perſon of the indicative in the ancient lexicon, but that they are promiſcuouſly now in one, then in another mode, juſt as they preſented themſelves to the firſt compilators of thoſe gloſſaries, which were in the beginning but a collection of ancient ſcholia.

It is on this generally adopted opinion, that I ground myſelf to ſhew the difficulty of ſtating the epocha which the author of the lexicon lived in. If we conſult only certain words of this lexicon, as the word Βυζάντιον, we ſhould think him prior to Conſtantine; for Byſantium, in that article, not ſeeming

* Independent of what we have already ſaid about the interpretation of the word λίξις, we ſee, at the beginning of his Apollonius, that he reprobates the word ααλιον, made uſe of in that lexicon, and that he would ſubſtitute the word ἄλιον. If he had known of our manuſcript, he would have ſeen that this word ἀάλιον, comes from the *α* privative, and from ααῦ κραῖω. So ἀάλιον anſwers to the word ἄκραιος. See alſo Suidas.

to

to have changed its name, the author muſt have lived before the tranſlation of the empire. We ſee, in fact, that in a lexicon, as Heſychius's, the author of which is reputed to have lived about the year 500 of J. C. the word Βυζάντιος is rendered by that of Κωνσαντινοπολίτης. If, on the other hand, we conſider that the manuſcript ſpeaks of Βῶνος, commander of the armies in Myſia, who, according to Suidas, lived under Juſtinianus, the firſt aſſertion proves void and inconſequent; beſides, what is to be inferred from this article of Byſantium, ſince Suidas ſpeaks in the ſame terms as the manuſcript? And it is ſaid that Suidas lived about the 13th century. How can we explain all theſe contradictions? It is becauſe the work of Suidas and our manuſcript were in their origin but a collection of ancient ſcholia, which has increaſed by progreſs of time, and that certain articles muſt have been continued, ſubſiſting without any alteration, as they had been compoſed at firſt.

If it is then impoſſible to aſſign the time of our author's living, we can at leaſt indicate the epocha of the manuſcript. It ſeems to be of 1270; it is of the hand of Athanaſius of Hamartolus, of whom we poſſeſs ſome other manuſcripts. I am far from giving to this copyiſt the praiſes I have given to the work. It has been ſeen, by what I have cited of the fables of the falſe Gabrias, what careleſſneſs, not to ſay worſe, reigns all over the copy. The verſes are not ſet forth line by line, but the beginning of one is generally at the end of the other. Sometimes the ſame words are often repeated in different places of the vocabulary, and

and intereſting articles, as that of Βυζάντιος, are but half copied, and the ſenſe remains ſuſpended. This negligence of the copyiſt, added to a variety of obſcure abbreviations, would afford matter of great trouble to the editor, eſpecially if this manuſcript, as we have ground to ſuſpect, ſhould, like that of Heſychius, be the only one.

AN

HISTORICAL CHAIN

OF

Countries, Seas, and Fiſhes;

WITH

A Treatiſe on the Science of the Sphere.

A Collection of different Works; and particularly of two Voyages to India and China, in the 9th and 10th Centuries.

Arabian Manuſcript, No. 597, in 4to. of 290 Pages, Oriental Paper.

By M. DE GUIGNES.

THIS manuſcript, which has exiſted in the king's library a long time, but which has not been conſulted, except by the abbé Renaudot, contains ſundry works, reſpecting one of which the learned have ſtarted doubts; ſome of them have even denied its exiſtence. In 1764, I inſerted in the *Journal des Scavans* (of the month of November) a letter on this ſubject, to which, I think, I ought to refer in theſe accounts, as their object is to make known the manuſcripts of the king's library; but if, on the one hand, I abridge what I have ſaid in that letter, I ſhall, on the other, add new obſervations,

tions, which the manuſcript, examined in another point of view, gives me an opportunity to form. The abbé Renaudot publiſhed in 1718, a work intituled, *Ancient Relations of India and China by two Mahometan Travellers, who went thither in the 9th Century; tranſlated from the Arabic, with Remarks on the principal Parts of theſe Relations.* Paris. By John B. Coignard, 1 vol. 8vo. of 398 pages.

The tranſlator, with reſpect to what is related of the Chineſe in this manuſcript, endeavours, in his remarks, to deſtroy the high idea which the miſſionaries have given us of the Chineſe nation. Fathers Premare and Parennin thought themſelves obliged to refute him; the former even pretends, that the two Arabian travellers have never been in China. In Europe, the learned have carried the ſeverity of criticiſm ſtill farther; they have doubted of the exiſtence of this Arabian manuſcript in England, Italy, and France, and ſuſpected it to be ſpurious. In fact, the abbé Renaudot, in his preface, contents himſelf by ſaying, that it was extracted from the library of M. le compte de Segnelay, without marking either the title, or the number; ſo that it could not be diſcovered in the king's library, whither the manuſcripts of Colbert, alias Segnelay, have been transferred. And as the abbé Renaudot has alſo been detected in ſome chronological errors, the ſuſpicion has been increaſed.

At the requeſt of ſeveral learned men, I have ſought a long while for this manuſcript in the catalogue of the library; I have inquired of all thoſe in

in which I conjectured it might be found, but without ſucceſs. I then believed, that the abbé Renaudot had taken from different Arabian authors ſeveral details, concerning India and China, to form thoſe relations, which he has afterwards aſcribed to the two perſons he names. This anſwer I made in 1750 to Mr. Boſcarini, procurator of St. Marc, at Venice. The ſame queſtion having been put to me afterwards by M. Morton, then ſecretary of the Royal Society of London, who remarked to me, that they were convinced at London, *this manuſcript did not exiſt, and that what the abbé Renaudot had ſaid of it, was a mere deception*; I made freſh inquiries, but equally unſucceſsful. It was requiſite, that I ſhould myſelf ſearch among thoſe manuſcripts, and examined them ocularly. I ſaw none but thoſe, which, like the catalogue, I thought ſuſpicious. Of courſe, I attempted once more to make new reſearches in this reſpect; I attended cloſely to the circumſtances related by the abbé Renaudot, who, at the end of his work, ſays, ſome obſervations of the ſame nature are to be found on the walls of ſeveral towns in Syria; and this is what I have met in the manuſcript now before me, which actually contains the two relations, that have excited ſo many doubts: but I am ſtill ſurpriſed, that the abbé Renaudot, who wrote the account printed in the catalogue, and which is ſtill preſerved at the head of the manuſcript, in his own hand, has not declared, it was the ſame work he had tranſlated; or why, at the head of this tranſlation, he has not related

related the general title of the work, nor pointed out the two other treatiſes contained in this volume; circumſtances by which it might have been ſooner found out, and might have enabled the curious to examine it themſelves. Did he want by this, to ſeclude it from the eyes of the public, and alſo of the guardians of the king's library?

As this work is tranſlated and printed in French, I ſhall give no account of it here; it is ſufficient, that I atteſt the exiſtence of the manuſcript in the king's library, and that it is not an invention of the abbé Renaudot; and I ſhall confine myſelf to ſome particular obſervations on the tranſlation, and on circumſtances related by our two travellers. This manuſcript was bought at Aleppo, and in 1673, placed in the library of Colbert. It is a conſiderable and very perplexing circumſtance in the arrangement of the matters, to have ſo many works on ſubjects ſo oppoſite, and ſometimes written in different languages, and bound together, which cauſes a great confuſion in the catalogue. Beſides, the manuſcript itſelf is in a very bad condition, the paper is old, ſtained, and worn-out, appears to have much ſuffered, and is gnawed in ſeveral places. It contains four works: 1ſt. Two relations tranſlated by abbé Renaudot, but ſome pages are wanting at the beginning; otherwiſe, this whole part is well written, and of a legible character. 2d. Six ſheets, of which ſome ſeem to be of the ſame hand as the relations; they contain ſingly the meaſures of the length and height of the walls of ſeveral towns and caſtles of

Syria,

Syria, without any other account of their conſtruction. The numbers are ſo ill written, that it would be difficult to copy them exactly; it begins with the meaſure of the walls of Tell-baſcher, of Aïn-tab, and of another town, of which I cannot tell the name, becauſe it is obliterated. Afterwards a title announces, that it treats of ſome moſques, which are in the dominions of Nour-eddin-Mahmoud, ſon of Edmad-eddin-zengi; but he mixes with the detail an account of ſeveral caſtles and towns; firſt of Aleppo, and the diſtances of this town from Harem, Manbedge, Mara, Hama, and other places, are given. Thoſe ſhort details may be intereſting to geography, but I ſhould not venture to tranſlate it, leſt I might miſtake one number for another, becauſe of the bad condition of the manuſcript; and in this line exactneſs and preciſion are indiſpenſible.

The author, whoever he is, ſpeaks afterwards of Manbedge, of Schizour, of Hama, of Hemeſſa, of Damaſcus, of Paneas, of Sarkhad, of Baſra, of Oman, of Baalbek, of Roha, of Edeſſa, of Harran, of Raſica.

This little fragment, with the help of ſome other works, might be uſeful, and it is for this reaſon we notice it.

The third piece, very badly written, has neither beginning nor end. It treats of heaven and the courſe of the ſtars, according to Ariſtotle, who is cited. To this are joined obſervations or explanations; but as the treatiſe of Ariſtotle *De Cælo* is found in other Arabian

manuſcripts, it is uſeleſs to dwell on this, which is in the greateſt confuſion.

The fourth piece wants the beginning; it is written in the Arabic characters of Africa, more ſquared than thoſe uſed in Aſia, and in very bad condition. It treats of the anatomy of the human body. At the end we read theſe words: "This work, which contains the explanation of the human body, the ſcience of the heaven and the ſtars, of the ſeas and countries, of the meaſures of towns and caſtles, was finiſhed the year of the Hegira 588, (and not 596*) of Jeſus Chriſt 1198. This note is in a different hand from that of the work. It reſembles, or rather is the ſame as the general title which ſtands at the beginning of the volume; but it is a very bad one, and ſeems to be that of a man very little accuſtomed to writing Arabic. Neither can we take the date of the tranſcription of the manuſcript, or the time of its compoſition.

But let us lay aſide theſe difficulties, which are little intereſting, and return to the tranſlation of the firſt piece by the abbé Renaudot. It ſeems to be the continuation of ſome more extenſive work, and nearly of the ſame kind as that of Maſoudi. The firſt page (properly ſpeaking) of this manuſcript, contains, beſides the title, the remains of a deſcription of a marine monſter, which the Arabian author calls *ankatous*. The abbé Renaudot has omitted it as being imperfect, and

* There is a date here in the margin, which is of the ſame hand as the manuſcript, and which marks the year 596, in the month September, of Jeſus Chriſt 1199.

begins

begins at an article intituled "The Third Sea is that of Herkend." This part contains the relation of the journeys of a certain Ebn-Ouahab in India and China, who travelled in thoſe countries in the ninth century, and of another named Abouzeid, who travelled there ſome years after.

Our travellers point out the road taken at that time to go from Baſſora to Canton; they give accounts of ſeveral iſlands they met with, and of their productions; they ſpeak of the manners and cuſtoms of the Indians and Chineſe. One of the travellers penetrates as far as the capital of China, and is preſented to the emperor, who ſeems to know the ſovereigns of the Oriental countries, ſuch as the emperor of Conſtantinople, the khaliff of Bagdad, &c. In one place of theſe voyages a diſcovery that was then made is ſpoken of. In the Mediterranean, on the coaſts of Syria, if we credit the author, they found the ruins of an Arabian veſſel, the conſtruction of which announced, that it was of Siraph, in the gulph of Perſia. He obſerves, that there are no veſſels, but thoſe of Siraph, whoſe planks are not nailed, but joined together in a particular way, as if they were ſewed: ſuch was that veſſel; whereas thoſe of the Mediterranean and of the coaſt of Syria are nailed. He infers from thence, that this veſſel, built in the gulph of Perſia, and conducted into the Indian ſea, might have been driven on the Oriental ſide by the ſea. He ſuppoſes it to have made the round of China, whence it might have entered into the ſea of Khozar; and thence, by a canal, into the Mediterranean. By this it appears that they believed the ocean commu-

nicated with the Mediterranean, which, this way, is abſolutely falſe. But if it be true that the veſſel departed from Siraph, it is more ſimple to ſuppoſe it to paſs towards the weſt, by way of the Cape of Good Hope, along the weſtern coaſts of Africa, and to enter the Mediterranean by the Streight of Gibraltar. The Arabians were then great navigators; they frequented the iſlands which are to the ſouth of India; they were curious in making diſcoveries, as we may ſee by other manuſcripts; and I ſhould not be ſurpriſed if thoſe of Siraph had paſſed into the Atlantic, and then into the Mediterranean, where they might have been wrecked.

In the compariſon I have formerly drawn between the tranſlation and the original, I am aſſured it is exact; I have only obſerved, that wherever the abbé has tranſlated *league*, it ſhould be read *paraſang*, as it is in the manuſcript; the league and the paraſang not having the ſame extent, the name league might eaſily be an inducement to error. I place a few obſervations in the notes*. I ſhall only remark here, that page 42, the abbé Renaudot ſays, that "the Chineſe are addicted to an abominable ſin, and place this execrable debauchery in the number of the indifferent things they do to the honour of their idols." We read in the text, "The Chineſe are addicted to that

* Page 6, he ſpeaks of a mountain he calls Cacenai; we read in the text Khouſchnami.

Page 10, he ſpeaks of a place called Nelif-bani-el-ſefac; we muſt read Saïf-bani-eſſefac.

Pages 20 and 108, the abbé Renaudot names a king of Haraz: there is in the manuſcript a king of Dgiourz.

debauchery

debauchery, inſtead of taking the virgins devoted to their idols." Father Duhalde relates, that the maids who are devoted to the religion of Fo are very licentious; it is of thoſe proſtitutes our travellers are here ſpeaking; ſo they ought not to be made to ſay the Chineſe commit that crime from a principle of religion*.

From theſe obſervations it reſults, that notwithſtanding all the objections of the miſſionaries, we can no longer doubt the authenticity of theſe relations, nor of the exiſtence of the manuſcript. In the ſecond voyage, undertaken by Abouzëidiel haſſan of Siraph, it is ſaid that the firſt has been made the 237th year of the Hegira, of Chriſt 377. In effect, this year and the following, China was agitated by commotions, and there was, as the Arabian author ſays, a famous rebel who committed great diſorders there.

I ought not here to forget, that what has moſt prejudiced the Chineſe miſſionaries againſt the Arabian travellers is, that they aſſert they ſell human fleſh publicly in China in the markets; they have of conſequence been accuſed of impoſture. I may cite in

* Page 51. This is only an error of the print. Mr. L'Abbé Renaudot, in tranſlating ſays, that the taking of Canton happened in the year 264 of Jeſus Chriſt, and of the Hegira 877. Read, on the contrary, the year of the Hegira 264, and of Jeſus Chriſt 877.

Page 124, at the end of the work, the abbé Renaudot has forgotten to tranſlate ſome lines. The author, after having ſaid that emeralds were carried from Egypt to China, where ſeals were made out of them, adds, "They alſo bring thither the bouſad, otherwiſe called merdgian, and the hadgion, called alſo dahnadge. Moſt of the kings of India ſuffer thoſe of their country to ſee their wives, but they do not permit foreigners."

their favour the Chineſe annals themſelves, which atteſt the fact, but fix it only in a time of famine. "In 1240, (it is there ſaid) they killed men, in order to ſell their fleſh in the markets; ſo that people were afraid to go out in the evening, for fear of being ſeized, killed, and thus expoſed to ſale." There are many examples in theſe annals, in almoſt all the famines, which are frequent in China, they have come to theſe extremities. In a liſt of earthquakes, inundations, and famines, which I ſhall give in the end, we find a number of examples of it, but always in a famine.

In general, without undertaking the defence of theſe ſtories, which reſemble thoſe of our firſt travellers, I think they are not to be deſpiſed, and that we may profit by them. They even agree with the Chineſe hiſtory. We know that the Arabians and all the Muſſulmans then repaired thither, and that at Canton they had a cadi.

In the hiſtory of the dynaſty of Tang, who reigned at that time in China, they mark the courſe the Chineſe veſſels ſteered from Canton to Baſſora, and it is agreeable to what our Arabian authors point out. They went from China to Ceylon, doubled Cape Comorin, ran down the coaſt of Malabar, paſſed the mouth of the Indus, and from thence to Siraph. The Chineſe were acquainted with the Euphrates. From Buſſora the merchandize was diſperſed among the Mahomedan countries, and even to the coaſt of Africa. It was about this time that the Neſtorians cauſed a monument to be erected at Singanfow, which they call Comdam.

Comdam. That is a proof of the exiſtence of Chriſtianity in China. Theſe Chriſtians are mentioned in the Chineſe annals, and our Arabian travellers mention a great number of Chriſtians being killed at Canton. Father de Prèmau looks on our travellers as impoſtors, on account of the name Comdam, which they give Siganfou, then called Tchang-gan. But all theſe objections do not prove any thing; and whatever this name of Comdam may be, it is certain it is that which all foreigners, even the Neſtorians who erected the monuments, then gave to that city. I ſhall not go further in this inquiry. As to the notes of abbé Renaudot, which I ſhould wiſh to criticiſe, it would be beyond my limits to examine them; and I ſhall finiſh by ſaying, it were to be wiſhed we had alſo many relations of the travels which the Arabians have undertaken, made into different parts of Africa, India, China, and the interior parts of Aſia, to which they then traded.

AN

ACCOUNT

OF THE

Manuſcript of Eſchylus,

In the KING's LIBRARY.

No. 2789, compared with the Edition of PAW.

By M. VAUVILLIERS.

THIS manuſcript in quarto, on paper of the ſixteenth century, contains the Prometheus, the Seven at Thebes, and the Perſians, without any deficiency. The firſt page preſents a life of Eſchylus, which, except a few words, is the ſame as that we ſee printed at the head of Paw's edition. We may here perceive the chronological knowledge of very modern ſcholiaſts, or the judgment of the copyiſts that have tranſmitted to us their Scholia. The author, whoever he was, makes Eſchylus, to be born at Eluſina, in the fortieth Olympiad; to fight at Marathon, in the ſixty-ſecond, and at Salamine in the ſeventy-fifth; that is, he makes him live one hundred and

and fifty years: and yet he tells us afterwards, that he died at the age of ſixty-five; and concludes with informing us, that he lived ſixty-three years, although he was born in the ſixty-third Olympiad, at Décélia, and not at Eleuſina, and died in the ſeventy-eighth Olympiad, aged fifty-nine years, as father Corſini ſtates, in his *Attic Faſti*, in ſeveral places.

The manuſcript, after having related the inſcription which the inhabitants of Gela placed on the tomb of Eſchylus, and which is to be found in the printed life I have juſt ſpoken of, cites another ſhorter, in a ſingle pentameter verſe. I ſhall relate it as it is given:

Αἰτὸν ἐξ ὀνύχων βρέγμα τυπεὶς ἔθανεν.

This verſe only expreſſes the nature of the poet's death in a very indiſtinct manner, and has much the appearance of the end of an epigram on the death of Eſchylus. Be it as it may, they ſhould at leaſt have written ἀετῦ; but the number of groſs miſtakes that appear in every page evince the extreme ignorance of the copyiſt: the hand is neither fine nor equal, if it is really the ſame with which the whole volume is written.

One form is there common to ſeveral letters, and the ſame figure of abbreviation repreſents different ſyllables, which renders the reading fatiguing and tireſome.

Yet it is not without reaſon that the learned compilers of the catalogue of the king's manuſcripts have ſaid, that this manuſcript deſerved to be conſulted, becauſe of ſome intereſting variations.

PRO-

PROMETHEUS.

At the forty-ſecond verſe we read, in our edition,

Αἰεί τε δὴ νηλὴς σὺ, καὶ θράσους πλέως.

The particle τὲ is of no great conſequence in this place; and if it had come from the hand of the poet, I cannot help thinking he would have preferred writing: αἰεὶ σὺ δὴ νηλής τε. The manuſcript reads αἰεί τι, which might be rendered in our language in this manner: "You have a certain character of rudeneſs."

At verſe 87, τύχης, which ſtands in our editions, is a very indefinite expreſſion to denote the actual ſtate of Prometheus chained by the hand of Vulcan: τέχνης, which the manuſcript preſents inſtead of τύχης, characteriſes in a more preciſe, juſt, and figurative manner, the fetters forged by a ſkilful workman, which Homer calls χλυτοτέχνης. Iliad. A. 571.

* πέφηνε, in verſe 111, ſeems to me without compariſon, more elegant and more adapted to the ſubject, than πέφυκε, which is commonly employed only to deſcribe the quality of an object by nature, or by birth. The other expreſſion is far more fit to deſcribe the rays of the ſun ſtolen, by Prometheus, to pour into the ſoul of men the light of ſcience, and the arts:

ἡ διδάσκαλος τέχνης
πάσης βροτοῖς πέφηνε.

I muſt

I muſt premiſe, that the writer of the manuſcript ſcarcely ever puts the ἰῶτα *ſubſcriptum* (underwritten).

The variation μελαμβαφὴς, he relates, verſe 219, inſtead of μελαμβαθὺς, as it ſtands in the text, as well as in our editions, is entirely in the ſtyle of Eſchylus.

Γ'ωμένος ῥίζαισιν Αἰνναίαις ὕπο, at verſe 365, would perhaps be better than the received reading ἰωνέμενος; for the poet has already ſaid, that Typhon had been ſtruck by lightening; he then ſays, that he has been reduced to aſhes; ἰωνέμενος, placed between theſe two, gives ſtill the ſame idea in another word. It is, methinks, a repetition, which expoſes Eſchylus to a ſuſpicion of barrenneſs: ἰωμένος would preſent, under another image, Typhon daſhed under the preſſure of Ætna, which Pindar calls ἴπον ἐνεμόεσσαν ἑκατογκεφάλα Τυφῶνος, *preſſuram*, id eſt, *onus præcelſum centicipitis Typhonis*, Olymp. 5. Ἶπος ſignifies properly the trough of a preſs, according to Julius Pollux. Thus the writing of the manuſcript would again have the merit of reconciling the images drawn on the ſame ſubject by the two poets, the boldeſt of any in metaphors.

* θακεῦντι παγκραλεῖς ἕδρας, at verſe 389, ſaving the omonymie of our editions, κραλεῦντι παγκραλεῖς ἕδρας.

* υποσενάζει, at verſe 437, expreſſes with more ſtrength, the weight of heaven, which cauſes Atlas to tremble, than υποβασάζει, which is in our printed editions.

προσηλάμενον,

προσηλέμενον, at verſe 437, is no more agreeable to the meaſure of the verſe, than προσελέμενον, which certainly does not admit of a pyrric, or two breves, inſtead of an iambic at the fourth foot of the iambic verſe, but it inclines to προσηλέμενον, a very good conceit, if there did exiſt any example of this compound verb, and which ought, in my opinion, not to be rejected, though it is no where adopted; it alſo affords a ſecond conjecture, which could amend the whole, without criticiſm, if we read ὧδέ πως ſηλέμενον, *ſic quaſi cippum factum*; for Prometheus, chained, and immoveable on Caucaſus, would be perfectly repreſented by this image.

Τὸν μακρὸν βίον, at verſe 488, is, without doubt, preferable to our reading χρόνον, becauſe Prometheus did not pretend, that men had paſſed a long ſeries of ages in ignorance and inſenſibility, from which he had raiſed them, by communicating to them the warmth of the ſun; and that in this very ſuppoſition, the article τὸν would be a fault; but rather, that they vegetated thus during the whole of their lives; this alſo is the writing of the ſecond ſcholiaſt.

The reading of verſe 450, προσήλως ἦσαν, is little better than our reading ἴσαν, which might be as well written ἴσαν, and would ſignify the ſame as ἦσαν, and is not decidedly preferable to προσήλως; the ancient grammarians admit them both to ſignify, *ſoli expoſitus*; though ſome learned reject abſolutely προσήλως, as not being in the analogy of the language; herein I am inclined to embrace their opinion.

Mr.

Mr. Brunck has adopted προσείλας ἦσαν, as in verſe 435; he has printed with reaſon μή τοι, inſtead of μή τι, which is alſo the writing of our manuſcript. I alſo believe, that πὰ λοιπά μοι, at verſe 475, is better than τὰ λοιπά μὲ; but I ſhould not heſitate preferring the writing ἐ ποτιῤῥὸν, at verſe 479; becauſe the ſentence, ſo as we read it,

οὐκ ἦν ἀλέξημ' ἐδέν, ἐδὲ βρώσιμον,
ἐ χριῤῥὸν, ἐδὲ πιῤῥὸν,

nullum erat remedium, neque eſculentum, non unguentum, neque poculentum, is evidently erroneous, though Mr. Heath pretends, that Eſchylus did not amuſe himſelf in ſearch of grammatical exactneſs. In adopting the writing of the manuſcript, we might read,

οὐκ ἦν ἀλέξημ' ἐδέν, ἐδὲν βρώσιμον,
ἐ χριῤῥὸν, ἐ ποτιῤῥὸν,

and the ſentence would prove ſtrictly regular.

At verſe 638, I ſhould not venture to affirm, that the writing, ὡς τ' ἀποκλαῦσαι, is preciſely the beſt; but I know, that the common writing is vicious, becauſe it begins an iambic verſe with a trocheus, and that this would produce a ſpondeus, τ' ἀποκλαῦσαι, being the craſis of τὸ ἀποκλαῦσαι; however it be, it was of ſome import to remark it, becauſe of the neceſſity to correct the paſſage. M. Brunck has printed ὥς' ἀποκλαῦσαι.

* κεκλήσεται, at verſe 839, is better than κληθήσεται; becauſe it preſents Io as neareſt the glory of giving her name to the Boſphorus.

At verſe 849, we read, as well as in our editions, ἐωώνυμον δέ τῶν Διὸς γεννημάτων τέξεις κεκλαινὸν Ἔπαφον,

Ἔπαφον, and the interlineary ſcholion explains γεννημάτων, by τῆς ἐπαφῆς, which, being certainly not the interpretation of γεννημάτων, ſeems to give room to believe, that the manuſcript, which our copyiſt had before him, contained another word. Mr. Brunck has printed θιγημάτων, in imitation of M. Walkenaer, who quotes a note of Scaliger. However, the conception of Epaphus, ought to be aſcribed to the mere contact of Jupiter, as the poet ſays, ἐπαφῶν καὶ θίγων μόνον, I ſhould venture to pronounce, that far from being ſo abſurd, as what M. Walkenaer advances; the writing γεννημάτων is, on the contrary, the only true one: "You will bring forth Epaphus, "whoſe name alone will recall the extraordinary "manner, in which Jupiter begot time;" and and this is the meaning of the explication of the ſcholiaſt, τῆς ἐπαφῆς, which here ſeems very rational.

At verſe 906, αὐθάδη φρονῶν may well enter in compariſon with this reading, αὐθάδης φρενῶν; but I believe, at the verſe 970*, πράγμασι, is much better than πήμασι.

χλιδᾷν ἔοικας τοῖς παρεῦσι πήμασι, ſays Mercury to Prometheus, agreeable to what we read in our editions; it is then but a ſimple expreſſion: but ſubſtituting πράγμασι, *deliciari videris rerum tuarum ſtatu*, becomes a much better irony; and the anſwer of Prometheus χλίδω. χλίδῶντας ὧδε τὺς ἐμὺς ἐγὼ ἐχθρὺς ἥδομι, I enjoy; may I ſee my enemies enjoy the ſame bliſs, becomes a cutting repartee to a cruel irony.

At

At verſe 1056, εἰ τάδ' εὐτυχῆ would ſettle the meter of the verſe, and prevent having recourſe to the conjectures of Cantere, Stanley, and Paw, in dividing the dipthong ευ, in ſuch a manner, as to read εἰ τάδ' ἐϋτυχῆ, which would be the plural neuter of εὐτυχὴς; for if we ſhould ſuppoſe it in the ſubjunctive of εὐτυχέω, there muſt reſult a ſoleciſm, becauſe the conjunction εἰ is conjugated with the indicative and optative only.

The meaſure of the verſe 1070 is alſo deſtroyed in our editions, by writing of ἄτ' ἐγὼ; the manuſcript gives ἄτ'ἐγὼ, and the meaſure is re-eſtabliſhed.

THE SEVEN AT THEBES.

* At verſe 55, ἔλιπον is not abſolutely neceſſary; our editions give ἔλειπον, and the Grecians often make uſe of the imperfect on theſe occaſions, as well as the Latin, and even the French, I think have proved this in my notes on Sophocles; but they do not make uſe of it.

* At verſe 83, we read, printed:

ἐλεδεμνὰς πεδιοπλόκτυπός
τ' ἐγχρίμπτ[illegible]ελαι βοά.

The manuſcript πεδιοπλόκτυπὸς τε ὦτι χρίμπτ[illegible]ελαι, and in the doubtful ὦσι, and in the variation, by all means better than M. Brunck has adopted.

Armorum ſonitus tremendus e campo auribus appropinquat.

* At the verſe 104, πάταγος ἐχ ἑνὸς δορός; this writing gives a moſt regular iambic verſe.

At

* At verſe 136, φόβων inſtead of φόβος, is doubtleſs more poetical.

* At verſe 178, πανδίκας has no meaning; πανδίκως, as the manuſcript has it, is moſt exact, κλύετε πανδίκως λιτὰς, Hear our prayers according to juſtice.

* At verſe 250, φόνῳ βροτῶν; Mars does not ſatiate himſelf in the conſternation, but in the ſlaughter of mankind.

* At verſe 274, παιάνισον.

* At verſe 306, ὀκρίοεσσαν; although the grammarians admit alſo of ὀκρυόεσσαν, I do not believe that this expreſſion can agree with our prayers.

* At verſe 314, εὐτραφέςατον, pleaſes me more than εὐτρεφέςατον of our editions.

I doubt, whether any body knows the example of this form, ἔνθεος δ'ἄρην, which may be found in our editions at verſe 503. Mean while, I ſhall take the writing of the manuſcript ἔνθεος δ'ἄρει, *afflatus autem marte*; and I ſee with ſatisfaction that it is adopted by M. Brunck.

* At verſe 667, φοίτῳ φρενῶν, is undoubtedly the expreſſion of Eſchylus, becauſe this word being exceeding rare, it is hard to believe the copyiſt has ſubſtituted it inſtead of τύφῳ, far more commonly employed; and which conſequently muſt be looked upon as an interlineary ſcholion of the other, that has been afterwards inſerted into the text; the other being defaced, or unknown to the latter copyiſt.

* At verſe 1003, ἰὼ πόνος, ἰὼ κακὰ, our editions bear ἰὼ πόνος ὀὺφ' ἡμῖν, which is, in all proba-

bility, owing to the interlineary ſcholion ὁ ἐν ἡμῖν, which afterwards entered into the text with a ſlight difference.

* At verſe 1008, πολυπονώτατοι, is not in itſelf better than πολυζονώτατοι; but I take it to be more adapted to the circumſtance.

* At verſe 1073, τίς ἂν ταῦτα πίθοιτο, is certainly a fault in the language: the optative has never any conditional ſtrength without the particle ἄν, as M. Dawes has obſerved long ago in his critical miſcellanies. It is then, with reaſon, that our manuſcript has τίς ἂν ἔν, whence reſults an anapeſtus dimeter, inſtead of an heptemimerus, if we read τίς ἔν ἂν, for tranſpoſitions are very frequent in manuſcripts, and particularly in this; or if we read with M. Brunck at the beginning of the verſe εἶσιν, inſtead of εἶσι, which would render the tranſpoſition needleſs, and is, at leaſt, as good. For we muſt obſerve, that the ν paragogium is generally omitted in manuſcripts, and, eſpecially in this, is ſcarce to be found, except in places where it ſhould not, becauſe it breaks the meaſure of the verſe.

THE PERSIANS.

As for this piece, ἀμφὶ δ' ἑ

κυκλῶντο, at verſe 457, is almoſt the only doubtful, truly intereſting to thoſe who take a part in a learned diſpute on the queſtion, whether the Attici uſed to ſuppreſs the augmentum of a ſyllable in the preter tenſe: it is omitted in our editions; the manuſcript reſtores it, which is the more obſervable, as this verſe was one of the five or ſix, which thoſe, who

who contend for the affirmative produced, or could produce in their favour. Wherefore M. Brunck cannot but be praiſed, who then keeping cloſer to this ſyſtem, than he now ſeems to do, has yet the authority of the manuſcript preferred to his opinion, where he has found the ſame writing, and printed the ἀμφὶ δ' ἑ

'κυκλᾶντο, in marking the elipſis of the augmentum by the apoſtrophe; a form which I think preferable in the verſes of the ſcene.

* πελαγίας ἁλὸς, at verſe 467, is alſo without compariſon better than πελαΐγίας, a writing adopted in our editions, without ones being able to gueſs the reaſon of it.

It is alſo with ſome pleaſure we read at verſe 577, δυνάσα, δυνάσα, inſtead of δυνάτα, which is to be found in our editions, and which is ſurely not the proper expreſſion to characteriſe the monarch of Perſia. The fear of a double conſonant after a vowel, which was ſuppoſed likely to remain breve, has cauſed the ſuppreſſion of the Σ. M. Brunck has, with his uſual ſagacity, paſſed over this vain ſcruple.

We cannot paſs πὸλεις, at verſe 866, which M. Brunck has printed with reaſon πὸλις; περὶ πύργον, at verſe 875, which the learned editor has alſo adopted, indead of περὶ πύργοι, which he, at leaſt, ought to have written in a ſingle word, ſo as to ſignify what the interlineary ſcholiaſts of our manuſcript explain, ὑψιπυργοι.

Eſpecially, ἀυχόμεναι, at verſe 878, which forms a fine picture, that could not fail pleaſing the taſte

of M. Brunck; *maxime placet*, ſays he, to denote cities, whoſe pride is debaſed before the king of Perſia, inſtead of the miſerable reading ἐχόμεναι, we have in our impreſſions.

For laſtly, Γ'χάρᾳ θ'ἕδος, at verſe 893; in whoſe room M. Brunck has reaſon to wonder, why the modern editions ſhould have preferred ἕλος, as if the iſland of Icarus had ever been called the marſh of Icarus

This is quite ſufficient to enable one to judge of the merit of this manuſcript. All the other variations, which an attentive reading has enabled us to perceive, ſhall be arranged in the form of an index, without excepting the moſt glaring faults; as it is our intention to make our account a ſubſtitute to the manuſcripts, as much as poſſible, to readers and editors, for whom faults may afford room for a conjecture, and the ſource of a more happy correction.

Thus, although the word ἀρχαιοπετρῆ, at verſe 480 of Prometheus, be moſt likely a fault of the copyiſt, who was not able to diſcern the abbreviation of ἀρχαιοπρεπῆ; yet it is not againſt the analogy of the language, nor contrary to the genius of Eſchylus, to expreſs the ſtability of the glory of Prometheus, and of his brothers, by a word that would ſignify it to be as ſolid as the ancient mountains.

In the ſame piece, at verſe 408, ἄρει ἄνθος, is without doubt a fault; but ἄρειον ἄνθος, which M. Brunck has found in the manuſcript, and which he has with much reaſon printed, is a great deal better than our vulgar reading ἄρειον ἔνθος.

At

At verſe 162 of the Perſians, Atoſſa, conſulting the choir of Perſian old men reſpecting a dream that had diſturbed her during the night, expreſſes herſelf to this purpoſe in our editions:

ἐς δ' ὑμᾶς ἐρῶ
μῦθον, ἀδαμως ἐμαυτῆς ἔσ' ἀδείμαντος, φίλοι,
μή μέγας πλᾶτος κονίσσας ἕδας ἀντρέψῃ ποδὶ
ὄλβον, &c.

Which probably ſignifies, "not being able to "raiſe myſelf above the fear, that the great riches "(amaſſed by Darius) being ſcattered on the earth "like duſt, will carry along with it happineſs," &c.

The manuſcript has ἔσ' ἀδείματος, which is an evident fault; but a man, accuſtomed to the reading of manuſcripts, knows how many times words are ridiculouſly ſeparated, or confounded, and how often the accents and punctuations are miſplaced; and if he ſhould reflect, that the form ἐμαυτῆς ἔσ' ἀδείματος, ſeems but inadequate to expreſs the ſignification that has been given, how indiſtinct and feeble the ſenſe, if we ſuppoſe it to be good, which infers, he might be tempted to read, in following the letters of the manuſcript, ἀδαμῶς ἐμαυτῆς ἔσα δείματος, a moſt elegant ſentence, which would imply, being out of myſelf in fear; and from a groſs fault, he would extract at leaſt a very good one, if it is not the only true one. Therefore we ſhall lay before the reader all ſuch as we have not yet ſpoken of.

As for thoſe that have been the object of our reflections, we have marked with aſteriſks all thoſe which

which M. Brunck has adopted in the volume printed at Straſborough, in 1779, when we have not pointed it out expreſsly. It is with great ſatisfaction, I have ſeized that opportunity to render a tribute to the rare talents and erudition of the learned editor, whoſe labours are in ſo many reſpects entitled to the acknowledgments of men of learning.

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119. ὀρρώμενον.
123. ἀρχίων.
125. φόβον.
127. ἐυδόμαις.
164. ἄπολον.
169. μάχεσι.
176. ἑτεροφρωνῳ.
190. Θράσος.
191. πολισέχωι.
194. φύλω γένει.
208. ἥκυσας, ἐκ.
210, ὄτλαβὸν, ὄτλοφον.
211. ἔκλαξαν.
214. ἆρ εἰς.

η

215. πρύμνοθεν.
219. νιφομένας.
222. πολέμιον.
227. ἀσυδρομυμένην.
234. κἀκ,
237. ἔδειν.
239. νεμόμεθ'.
243. ἀλλ' ὦ,
472 πίμιον.

ω

248. τετραμμένως.
252. ἄκυσ' ἄγαν.
256. πόλιν.
260. δυλοῖς ἐμέ.
263. ἄνδρες.
273. ἐυμάτων.
284. δορύπληχθ'.
285. ἐπεύχομαι.
286. καὶ ἀγρίοις.

298. ὑπερδέδοικα.
312. βαθύχθονα.
335. περιερηγμένων.
337. ὀλυμμένας.
338. τοὶ, *abeſt.*
πάσχει
345. ϖρᾶσσει.
358. βληχάι.
360. ξύνομον.
361. λελημμένοι.
389. σαίειν.
393. ἔχειν δ' ὑπέφρον.
ω
396. ὄϛρον.
ων
400. ὁρμαίνων μένει.
408. ἡ ἄνοια.
412. τήνδ'.
ὁμαμιων
421. ὀυδαίμων.
433. θε.
446. παρασκευασμένος.
ο
473. πύργων ἐμπέρσαι.
475. ἐκβάλη.
479. καὶ δὴ πέμπλοὺ.
484. δύο . . καὶ τό.
486. μηδέν.
487. τάδε.
490. μαινομαίνη.
494. ἱππομέδοντος.
501. πλευτάναι.
ἀλκήν
504. ἀρχήν.
507. ϖρῶτα.
512. χρει.
514. ἔυλογος.
522. τόν.
529. γὲ μαί.
533. βορειαῖς.
541. ἀντέλεσα.
562. ἰάσει.
567 καρτησμᾷ.
απν
574. σωφρονέϛερον.
591. πατρός.
594. πολεμία.
608. πλεῖον.
610. Θεοπύϛω.
617. ϖρόφης.
618. βία φρενῶν.
α
619. πόλιν.
634. ϖρὸς, *abeſt.*
636. κράνοι.
637. ἔυδομον.
639. γ', *abeſt.*
649. ϖροσμεμηχανευμένον.
650. τευχιϛήν.
655. τἐπιϛημ'.
γῆρας
688. πέρας.
693. ἄτη.
704. μὴ ἐποτρύνε.

707. δέχονται.
712. παρέσηκεν.
715. ἐξέζεσαν.
719. ἄνυτις.

between verse 727 and 728 we read

ἃ γὰρ νύκτωρ παρεκελεύσατο καὶ γέγονε.

732. παισδσδέλετωρ.
733. κλήροις.
734. χάλιβος.
738. ὁπόσην.
747. συμμιγεῖς.
757. μόνον.

775 πρόπρυμνον.
κρεισσοτέκνων
790. κρεισσὼ τέκνων.
794. σφαι.
803. σέργει.
806. ἐυδόμας. ἐυδομαγέτας.
816. βαρέα μὲν αλλ'.
818. κοινῶς.
829. πολισσέχον.
840. μᾶ.
842. ὡς, *abest.*
845. δυσφόρες μόρες.
847. πρόθεν.
849. πόλιν.

860. γόων.
861. κρατεῖ.
863. τήν.
865. τήν.
868. ἀντιγόνην.
869. αδελφῶν.
888. διήλαχθε.
889. σιδήρω.
892. κατεύγμᾶτα, *abest.*
909. τεανα.
917. σιδηρόπληκτοι, & *sic sequi.*
921. ἀχὴ εἰς
924. δαίφρων δ'
925. δακρυχεω δ'.
928. παρα.
930. πολίταις.
931. τ'ἐς.
933. ἦ.
935. κέκληται.
952. δατητής.
962. παντρόφῳ.
969. ἔκτανες.
978. τ'.
985. βαρυσδότειρα.
987. ἐκφυγάς.
990. καὶ τόν δ'.
991. πάθον.
992. δύσονο καί
1001. τῷδ'.
1005. ἰω, *semel.*
1006. πημάτων ἄναξ. *nihil deinde.*
1017. γύχων.

1025. τὸ τᾶ δ'.
1045. θίφων γὰρ 'αυτῶν.
1057. αντιμειβε.
1067. μήποτε.
1070. πενδίτήρων.
1077. πομπιμοι.
1084. μὴ ανατραπῆναι.

LES PERSES.

3. ἀρχειῶν.
6. δαρειογενὴς δαρείᾳ υἱός.
ω
8. νόσῳ.
10. ὀρωπολεῖται.
22. ἀϛάτης.
32. ἵππων.
37. ὠγυγίϛς.
38. ἀρειόμαρδος.
40. ἀναριθμον.
43. μητρογαθὴς.
44. αρτεύς.
67. χθονά
79. χρυσονόμω.
82. φοινίᾳ δέρμα.
84. ἀσύριον.
86. ἅρη.
91. ἀπρόσοιτος.
92. λαός.
96. ἀναάσσων.
110. λαύρω.
120. κισσίων.
121. ἔσεται.
126. τέ, abeſt.
147. ῥεῦμα.
148. δορικράνε.
159. χουσεοϛόλβες.
160. Δαρείᾳ κ'αμόν.
161. Κραδίαν.
163. κονίσας. ἀνατρέψῃ.
193. ἡνίαισιν εἶχε.
ῶ
203. βωμόν.
216. θρασύνειν.
223. γὰν.
239. χερὸς δὑτοῖς.
253. ἀγγέλειν.
263. ἐφταάνδη.
268. ὀτϛοτϛοιτοί.
274. ὀτϛοτϛοι.
275. ὠματον.
278. ἀπώλλοντο.
280. ἰυζε.
307. θαλασσάπλαϛκτος ος
νῆσος
312. φερεσσένης.
313. καὶ φαρυγχός.
314. μέταλλο

314. μέταλλος.
ας
315. τρισμυρίας.
316. πυρᾶν.
320. ἀμφιτρεγὲς.
321. σάρδεσσι.
326. σύνεσίς τε πρῶτος αὐτὸς
εἰς εὐψυχίαν.
328. ἀπόλετο.
329. τοιῶν δ' ἀρχόντων.
334. πόσον δέ.
337. βαρβάρων.
341. Ξέρξης.
346. ἰσορόπῳ
350. συμβολῆ.
351. Ἕλληνες πρότερον.
352. κατακαυχήσας.
359. ἐπανδόροντες.
363. προσφωνεῖ.
364. πλόγα. *in var.* χθονός
372. ὑπερθύμως.
376. ἀφ'.
379. ναῦν.
388. πρῶτα.
390. πέτρης.
394. εἰς.
398. ἐμφανεῖς ἦσαν.
413. γενῶν.
421. Ἀλιήδυνον.
430. χοιχηγορόιην.
444. δυσκλεᾶτα.
445. ὃ ἐγώ.
451. ἐχθοί.
452. κτείνειεν.
455. νηῶν.
459. τράπονται.
469. πεζῶ τε.
474. ἀπήρκεσεν
478. νηῶν.
479. ἔλιπες.
494. παλαῖον.
501. κρυσαλοπῆγα.
516. ἐνήλλε.
517. οἳ ἐγώ.
540. τίλκεσ'.
552. πάντα.
560. νῆες.
563. ἰανόνων.
565. ἄνακτα.
576. αὐδήν.
589. δεσπασύνηνιν.
602. ἐπίλθω.
606. après ce vers le vers
609 eſt mal placé,
on y lit: ἄνευ
τ'ὀχημάτων.
619. ἰυώδης καρπός, πάρος.
623. γατόπες.
625. πρίσβυς, *in var.*
πρίσβα.
629. γαῖαν.
632. ψυχήν.

634. εἰπῃ.
640. παντάλαναν' ἄχη.
644. μεγαλαρχῆ.
645. ἰέντ'.
648. Περσῶν . . . θεῶν.
665. πεφύσκων.
671. ἀχλύς τις.
679. ἁμάρτα.
680. γᾶ τᾶδε.
689. ῥοθιάζοντες.
698. ωρί, *abeſt.*
707. Ce vers eſt placé après le 708.
710. βίος ἦν.
712. ἔλευσις.
715. λόγῳ.
716. εἶπος ἐπεῖν.
717. λιμᾷ.
731. κατέφαρται.
736. Ξέρξης.
737. πᾗ τελευτᾷ.
738. ἐν.
741. ωρᾷξις δὲ παῖδ'.
743. ἐκτετήσας.
753. πόνος.
761. τὴν γάρ.
763. πεσῶν.
765. ἀσιδος.
768. ἤνυσεν ἔργον.
772. λαών.
784. νέος ὤν.
787. ἔχομεν.
788. φανῆμεν.
796. λοιμῷ . . . ὑπωπώλης.
797. τὲ λεκτρόν.
798. ἐν, *abeſt.*
820. νεκρῶν δέ.
836. ὑπαντιάζεται.
848. μάλιςά γ'.
850. ἀπεμπέχει.
852. παιδι.
861. ἀποφαινόμιθ'.
866. πόλεις.
868. ἄυλος ποταμ' ἀδ'.
889. ἄντρος.
891. τὺς μισάκτας.
893. ηδέ.
896. τᾶς.
909. δμηθέντες.
910. πληγαῖσι.
914. ἐνέθη.
916. γυίων μελέων.
921. ὀτ̣ὸτοί βασελείυς.
929. φύσις.
934. γόνυ.
951. τὲ, *abeſt.*
952. πεντῆρος.
954. ἰαόνων. 5 *idem.*

956. ἑτεραχλης.
962. φαραδάκης.
964. δομάτας.
965. κὶ, *abeſt.*
970. θανεντας.
973. σεβάγλης.
974. ἀπάτωρ.
975. Μασίσρας.
979. ὠγυγίϐς.
983. ἀπαιρυσι.
984. τῶν.
987. βατανόχϰ.
990. τ' ἔλιπες.
991. ὦ ὤ.
998. τέ.
999. μάρδον. *var.* μαχόδον.
1003. Κιγδάδαν.
1006. ἐπόμενος.
1008. οἰ, *ſemel.*
1016. ἰάνωναν βάτὰν.
1025. τάνδε.
1027. θησαυρῶν.
1035. ἐλερρηξ' ὀπί.
1036. παπαῖ, *ter.*
1037. πλέον.
1040. σθένϛγ'.
1048. ὀτοτοτοῖ.
1049. γάρ ἄδε.
1050. ἀγῶ.
1051. ἔρεατ' ἔρεσε.
1056. ὀτοτοτοῖ.
1058. πλαγός.
1060. ἄνια, *ter.*
1061. ὑπέρθε.
1066. φεῦ ἄνια.
1075. ἰωὰ δή.
1078. ἰώ, *ſemel.*
1081. τοῖσδέ σε.

ACCOUNT

ACCOUNT

OF THE

Manuſcript of Eſchylus,

In the KING's LIBRARY.

No. 2790.

By M. VAUVILLIERS.

THIS manuſcipt in 4to. on paper, the writing of the 16th century, contains the Prometheus of Eſchylus, the Ajax of Sophocles, a treatiſe on dialects, a letter of the Pythagorean Lyſis, and a treatiſe on anomalous, or irregular verbs, which ends the volume.

As to the pretended treatiſe on irregular verbs, it takes up twenty pages, of which ſome contain only two or three verbs, others ſix or ſeven, a ſingle one fourteen: thus for the number as well as for the choice of words we find in it, this treatiſe is not very eſtimable.

The letter of Lyſis to Hipparcus, or Hippaſus, is printed, and there is not any difference between that and the manuſcript, but ſome faults of the copyiſt.

I ſay

I ſay the ſame as to the treatiſe of the dialects. The name of the author does not appear at the head of the work, but by the reading of it we ſhall ſoon recollect the work, known by the name of Corinthus, which Aldus printed in his collection, intituled, *The Horn of Amalthea*, which is to be found in Latin, in the 4th volume of the Greek Treaſure of Henry Etienne, and in ſeveral other works in Greek or Latin.

Whatever be the name of the author, whom Fabricius believes to be a grammarian of Corinth, named *Gregory*, or *George*, ſurnamed *Pardus*, he is like many other grammarians, well acquainted with words, and names of real or imaginary figures. As to the true principles of the language, we need only to read his work, to be convinced how far it is from them, and that to follow his notions, is to renounce the hopes of learning it. This treatiſe, in itſelf then, is of no great value, and the manuſcript which differs from the text, only in its faults, is leſs ſo.

I ſhall confine myſelf then to the Prometheus of Eſchylus, becauſe I keep the Ajax of Sophocles for the articles, which I intend to dedicate to the manuſcripts of this poet.

We have already hinted, that there are a great many of the errors of the copyiſts in this manuſcript; but the variations are in a very ſmall number indeed, but generally better than the writing of the manuſcript, they evince a collation made with ſeveral anterior manuſcripts; which gives a new de-

gree

gree of authority to the good readings we meet with.

One of this kind is at verſe 87, reading τέχνης, inſtead of τύχης, which we have given an account of in the preceding article.

At verſe 105, ἀδήρητον confirms the teſtimony of Heſychius, againſt the authority of ſeveral learned moderns, who attempted to eraſe this word, together with the verb and the primitive ſubſtantive from the number of words of the Greek language. My note upon this ſubject, on verſe 442 of the Trachiniennæ of Sophocles, may be ſeen; not that I perſiſt in the conjecture I have ventured; I have altered ſome time ago my opinion on the neceſſity of correcting that verſe. As I do not bluſh to confeſs my miſtakes, when I perceive them, I ſhall return to this object, and to ſeveral others, under the articles of Sophocles, in proportion as the manuſcripts ſhall give me an opportunity. Mean while, I continue to withhold my belief, that δήρη, δηρήσασθαι, ἀδηρήτην in Heſychius, δήρης in Panyaſis, are as many barbariſms, and I confeſs, that this proſcription appears to me very ſevere, in comparing it with the credit the ἅπαξ λεγόμενα enjoy, of which ſeveral at leaſt might be juſtly ſuſpected.

At verſe 108, ἐνίζυγμαι is perhaps not inferior to our writing ὑπίζυγμαι.

At verſe 213, ὑπερίχοντας is preferable to our adopted writing ὑπερίξοντας. Not that ὑπερίξοντας offends thoſe, who, by rejecting the anapeſts of the fourth feet of an iambic verſe, will after incontrovertible examples believe, that a ſhort ſyllable may remain

remain ſhort before a double conſonant; but the future is by no means neceſſary. For if we read this verſe, either with the elegant correction of Mr. Dawes, or if we expound it as I have done on the 165th verſe of the Trachiennæ of Sophocles.

ὡς ἐ κατ' ἰχνὺν, ἐδὲ πρὸς τὸ κάρτερὸν
χρείη, δόλῳ δὲ τὰς ὑπερίχοντας κρατεῖν.

quod non vi, non robore oporteret, ſed dolo victores vincere, is a way of ſpeaking very regular.

This ſole phraſe of the fifth book of Herodotus, *chap.* 96, among others, Ἀθηναῖοι πέμπουσιν ἐς Σάρδις ἀγγέλους ἔκ ἐόντας, *miſere Athenienſes legatos Sardes, qui vetarent*, proves, that the future is not neceſſary in theſe circumſtances.

At verſe 355, συρίζων φοβον, *ſibilans terrorem*, ſpeaking of Typhon, in his fight againſt the Gods, is more exact then θάνον, becauſe the whiſtling of a ſerpent cauſes a dread, but does not bring death with it.

In verſe 389, δακόντι πανκρατεῖς ὦρας, is one of the good variations, the merit of which I have ſhewn in the preceding account, as well as ὑποστενάζει, at verſe 430, βίον at verſe 448, ὥς' ἀποκλάυσαι at verſe 639, ἐι τάδ' ἰυταχῆ at verſe 1057.

But we muſt obſerve here, at verſe 411, ἔποικοι; my edition has it ὅποσοι ἔποικον ἀγνᾶς Λ'σίας ἕδος νέμονται. As I know of no inſtance where this word is employed in the paſſive ſenſe, I have no doubt but the reading of the manuſcript gives a neceſſary correction, *quicumque advenæ ſacræ Aſiæ ſedem incolunt.*

We ought to dwell with ſome attention on the deference of the punctuation which we obſerve at verſe 536, and following. My edition has it

ἡδὺ

ἡδύ τι θαρσαλέαις
τὸν μακρὸν τείνειν βίον ἐλπίσι,
φαναῖς θυμὸν ἀλδαίνουσαν ἐν εὐφροσύναις.

Dulce eſt fidenti ſpe vitam longam producere, manifeſtis voluptatibus animum oblectantem. The manuſcript diſplaces the commas; we read

ἡδύ τι θαρσαλέαις
τὸν μακρὸν τείνειν βίον, ἐλπίσι
φαναῖς, θυμὸν ἀλδαίνουσαν ἐν εὐφροσύναις.

Dulce eſt ſecuris, inter ſpes manifeſtas, longam vitam producere animum oblectantem in voluptatibus.

Both ſenſes are good; the latter might perhaps be preferable, if the conſtruction of it was not a little embarraſſed.

At verſe 866, ἀλλ' ἀπαμβλυνθήσεται γνώμην.

Laſtly, verſe 957 is written in this manner.

τρίτον τόνδε τὸν νῦν κοιρανοῦντ' ἐπόψομαι.

τόνδε is an evident fault; but if we read,

τρίτον δὲ τὸν νῦν κοιρανοῦντ' ἐπόψομαι,

we ſhall have a very exact verſe, inſtead of a moſt defective one, which our editions preſent under this form:

τρίτον δὲ τὸν νῦν τυραννοῦντ' ἐπόψομαι.

Which gives a trochee to the third, and a ſpondee to the 4th foot of an Iambic verſe.

INDEX of other Variations of Prometheus, of which ſeveral are very good, and are rejected here only becauſe they have been ſpoken of in the preceding Account, or in thoſe that will follow this in the printing; though they had been firſt attentively read in the Committee. It is to be obſerved, that neither the ν ſubſcriptum, nor the ν paragogicum, at the End of Verbs or Nouns, are not found in this Manuſcript.

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6. ἀδαμαντινοις πίδαισιν ἐν ἀῤῥήκτοις πίτραις.
8. ὦπασε.
20. προπασσαλεύσω.
30. πέραν.
34. γάρ, *abeſt.*
38. προὔδωκε.
42. αἰαῖ τοι νηλής.
48. ὦφελε.
49. θεοῖς.
55. νῦν.
58. μηδαμή.
64. αὐθάδην.
67. ὕπερ.
74. χρίκωσον.
80. μὴ ἐπίπλησσε.
87. ἐκκυλισθήσης.
92. θεὸς, *abeſt.*
95. ἀεθλεύσω.
103. ὢν, *abeſt.*
122. εἰσιχεῦσι.
126. ῥυπαῖς.
133. ἄντρων μῦχον.
134. τήν.
146. εἰσιδεῦσι.
147. πέτρα.
148. ταῖς ἀδαμαντοδέτοις.
150. νεοχμαῖς δέ δή.
156. ἐπειγηθει.
158. ἐπίχαρμα.
164. δάμνεται.
166. ἀρχάν τις.
174. σεράς.
191. ἀριθμόν.
202. ἀνάσση.
203. ἄρξει.
204. πειθεῖν.
207. κρατεροῖς.
211. προὐθεσπίκει.
213. δὴ, *abeſt.*

216.

216. κράτιςον δ' ἐμοί.
219. μελαμβαθής.
221. συμμάχοις.
225. δαίμοσι.
233. φυτεῦσαι.
235. τόλμη[illegible]
237. [illegible]
238. [illegible]
241. ὧδ[illegible]ύθμισμαι ζηνί.
243. συνασχαλᾶ.
246. φίλοισιν ἐλεεινός.
248. προσδέρκεσθαι.
253. φλογωπόν' ἔχουσιν.
268. Τί, *abeſt.*
269. κατισχνανεῖσθαι, *ib.* πεδαρσιαις.
271. μὴ ὀδύρεσθε.
275. ταῦτα.
281. ὀκρυέσσῃ.
292. ἐι σοί.
293. ἐτήτυμ'.
294. σοί, *initio v.*
301. αὐτόκτις'.
304. τόδε.
314. παρόντων.
330. οὔνε.
333. εὐπειθής.
341. προμηθίας, *ib.* αὐτός.
345. γὰρ α . . εἵνεκ' ἀ.
346. πλείσους πημονῆς.
348. ὃς ἐς.
350. ὤμοιαν . . ἄρχθος.
356. ἥρπαπται.
363. παράωρον.
369. γυίας.
379. μαλθάσῃ.
384. τῆδε τῇ νόσῳ.
388. βάλοι.
404. θεοῖς τοῖς πάρος.
405. ἐνδεικνύει ἀχμήν.
409. σίνασα.
410. ξυνύμαιμον.
411. ἀγνῆς.
416. μάχαις.
419. ἴχνεσιν, *abeſt.*
420. ἀρραβίας . ἄνθος.
422. καυκασίᾳ.
424. ὀξυτρώοισι . . ἐν, *abeſt.*
425. ἄλλων.
435. μήδ'.
437. προσπλέμενον.
439. ἢ ἐγώ.
493. ἐπιβόλως.
450. ἦσαν.
451. ἔνναιον.
456. ἀνατολάς.
472. πλάνη.
475. μοί.
489. εὐωνύμως.
490. ἀλλήλως.
499. ταῦτα.
517. ἱκφύγῃ.

520. ξυνεπέχεις.
525. μηδαμῶς.
534. ἐμμένη.
558. ὀκεῖν' ὅτε τ'.
564. χαλινοῖσιν ἐν πετρίνοισιν ὀρείοις.
566. ποινάς.
578. ποῖ, ποῖ, ποποῖ, ποῖ.
587. πολύπλανοι.
590. φθέγματα τᾶσδε.
607. τί μοι, χρή.
612. φίλον.
616. ὦ μοι, *var.* ἁρμοῖ.
638. ἀποδύρασθαι.
643. ὀδύρομαι, *var.* αἰσχύνομαι.
646. πολύμιναι.
648. κέρη.
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668. πυραπόν.
686. λόγοις.
689. ὕυχαν.
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707. γυίας.
708. σκύθης.
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792. κισθήνης.
798. δρακοντόμαλοι.
799. βροτός.
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803. μονῶπα.
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839. κεκλήσεται.
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863. τοιάσδ' ἐς.
866. γνώμαιν.. βυληθήσεται.
880. φρένα φόβω.
884. πνεύματι μάργῳ, *abeſt.*

893.

893. μ', *abeſt.*
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898. δαπανομένην.
899. ἀλατείαις.
902. θεῶν, *abeſt.* . προσδέρκει.
903. εἰς ἄπορα.
916. [illegible] πυρίπνευ.
917. ἀρκέση. *var.* ἐπαρκέση.
929. ἐκπλήξεις.
933. τᾶτ', *var.* τᾶδε.
936. θώπευε.
946. σ' ἔτινας.
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973. συμφορᾶς ἐπαιτιᾶς.
974. ἐχθραίνω.
982. ἔκ αἰ, *in fine* ν.
983. ἐρεῖν γάρ.
984. αἰ τίνοιμ' ἄν.
987. τί μι, *var.* ἐμᾶ τιπεύσεσθαι.
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στ

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AN

ACCOUNT

OF THE

Manuſcript of Eſchylus,

Number 2782, in the King's Library.

By M. Vauvilliers.

THIS manuſcript, in quarto, of the 16th century, contains the Olympus of Pindar, of which we ſhall ſpeak elſewhere, a treatiſe of Greek ſyntax, a treatiſe of the fabulous deities, ſo monſtrouſly disfigured by the faults of the copyiſt, that we cannot read it; a tranſlation of ſome pſalms in Greek verſe, the Prometheus of Eſchylus, and the Seven chiefs at Thebes.

Theſe two pieces have not been better treated by the copyiſt. I may aver, that he not only miſunderſtood the language, but he did not even know how to read it. There is ſcarce a verſe without barbariſms, and words maimed, either at the beginning, middle, or end. He almoſt always doubles the conſonants, where he ſhould not, and ſcarcely ever does

does ſo, when it is neceſſary; he puts ι's for υ's, υ's for η's, ε's for α's, &c. In a word, the faults are as numerous as they are groſs. Yet we meet in the Prometheus with ſome good variations, as we have remarked in the preceding number, and which we have here claſſed in the index.

We muſt only remark at verſe 42,

αἰεί τι δὴ νηλὴς σὺ καὶ θράσεις πλέως.

At verſe 602, ὅτι μ' ἐπαμμένει, παθεῖν τί με χρή, inſtead of μὴ, as our editions have it. She wiſhes to know what ſhe muſt ſuffer; and not what ſhe ought to dread.

Verſe 638, ſeems to me very ſucceſsfully reeſtabliſhed by the reading in the manuſcript.

ὡς κἀποκλαῦσαι, κἀποδύρασθαι τύχας.

At verſe 677, κεγχρείας ῥέος, is the true name of the port of Corinth, called Cenchrea.

At verſe 866, ἀπαμβλυνθήσεται γνώμην, is the uſual form. Homer ſays, ἀχνύμενος κῆρ.

In the Seven at Thebei, which is ſtill more ill-treated, if poſſible, than the Prometheus, we find at verſe 284, ἀγνοῖς νόμοις. Though ἀγνοῖς δόμοις, which is found in our editions, forms a rational ſenſe, yet the dwellings of the gods, where the ſpoils of the enemies ought to be offered, are deſigned by the words ἑστίας θεῶν, by which means, δόμοις becomes an uſeful repetition: ἀγνοῖς νόμοις, then expreſſes the religious cuſtom of this conſecration.

At verſe 335, περιρρηγνυμένων φαρέων, to reſtore the meaſure of verſe.

At verſe 502, ἴνθεος δ' ἄρει, is the conſtruction uſed in like ſentences.

At

At verſe 630, our editions ſay,

παρ' ἀσπίδος γυμνωθὲν ἁρπάσαι δόρυ, which is in the tranſlation, *extra clypeum nudatam arripere haſtam*, and which certainly has no meaning. The manuſcript has it δόρι; the ſenſe is quite different: *clypeo nudatum corpus haurire haſtâ*. This variation, was it ſingle, is ſufficient to prove, that there is no manuſcript, though ever ſo bad, from which ſomething important for a new edition, might not be expected.

τροχαλὸν might be added to verſe 766. We read in all our editions τρίχαλον, which is upon good reaſons tranſlated by *triſulcum*; but I confeſs that I underſtand very well what *fulmen triſulcum*, or *lingua triſulca* means, but I do not comprehend at all what is the meaning of of *fluctus triſulcus*. I do not recollect ever ſeeing this in any other place. Homer takes the word κυρτὸν, to deſign the wave that becomes convex in ſwelling; τροχαλὸν that ſignifies *rotundum*, I take it to expreſs the ſame image.

At verſe 772, we read in our modern editions,

τίλεια γὰρ παλαίφατοι ἀραί; the antient ſcholiaſt remarks, that for the ſyntax it ſhould have been τίλειαι, but that the poet has retrenched the ι for the ſake of the meaſure of the verſe. It is not poſſible to be more unfortunate in a remark; for τίλειαι, is no more neceſſary to the ſyntax, than *triſtis* in this ſentence of Virgil, *triſte lupus ſtabulis*; but on the contrary, the meaſure of the verſe requires a *long* inſtead of a *ſhort* one, to give to the verſe of the ſtrophe, and to that of the antiſtrophe their little meter; and the edition of Alde has, as Mr. Brunk has obſerved, τίλειαι, as well as our manuſcript. . . At

At verſe 832, our reading ἀσινεῖ σωτῆρι, cannot end an anapeſt verſe. The ſecond ſcholiaſt ſeems to have read σωτηρίᾳ, and it is the reading of the manuſcript.

Finally, at verſe 832, μήτε προπέμπειν, which Mr. Brunk has adopted, after another manuſcript, becauſe it reſtores to the anapeſt verſe its meaſure, disfigured in our editions; where we read μήτε σε προπέμπειν. After which, πολιτῶν δεῖμα concludes the line, which is a tranſpoſition of verſe 1069. Theſe miſplacing of verſes, or words, are very common in manuſcripts: ours here are exceeding bad. At verſe 1073, we find one ſomewhat leſs enormous: τίς ἂν ἓν ταῦτα πείθοιτο. The meaſure of the verſe requires, without doubt, πίθοιτο at firſt, inſtead of πείθοιτο, and τὶς ἓν ἂν; but the particle ἂν, which is omitted in our editions, is ſtill more neceſſary to the ſenſe than to the meaſure: the optative never has the force of a ſubjunctive in a direct ſentence without this conjunction. There are however ſome examples, but they are only owing to bad manuſcripts; they are very rare in poets, and never to be amended.

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234. κακχαλεπᾶς..ὀμματατων. *Ibid.* κνημναμέναν.
239. νεμόμεθ'.
240. ὄχλων.
244. ἔυκηλος.
245. ἄεμα.
246. κρόπολιν.
249. ποθοισθε.
258. φορόν.
260. ἐμέ.
263. ἄνδρες . . πόλιν.
272. συμμάχοις.
273. καμακούσας'.
274. παιάνισον.
279. διρσκ . . ιμενᾶ.
280. ξεντυχόντων.
285. τοι ταῦτ'.
287. μὴ ἀ.
288. εὐδόμῳ.
290. μολεῖν.
294. μέριμνας.
962. τῶν
297. τεκνωνδ'.
307. διογενές.
310. ἀμείψασθε.
315. ὅδω:.
326. λυταίς.
328. αἰδα.
331. πορθεμέναν.
332. ἄγεσθε ἔ ἔ ἔ ἔ.
338. τοὶ. *abeſt.*
339. ἀντιστρόποις ἀυμοδξολων.
344. ἔ, *quater.*
345. ϖράσσεις.
347. πυρφορῆις.
348. ἀϊνέται ἄταν.
353. δορύ.
355. τῶνδ'.
356. ἀντισραφεῖς.
358. συμβαλῆι.
361. λελημμένοι.
364. ἀγύνει.
366. φυργᾶς.
377. νόας.
378. οἰδί.
383. πύλαις.
388. σοφις'.
391. κρόνες.
394. φλέγονδ'.
400. ὁρμείνων μένει.
404. τὰ, *abeſt.*
406. ὑϖ'.
408. ἡ ἄνοια.
412. μαντεύεται.
413. κενόν.
415. μάλ' εὖ, *abſunt.*
421. ὀδαίμων.
425. ἀιματοφόρες.

429.

429. κἀμῶπανεύς . . ἰλίκτραι-
σιν.
431. ὁ, *abeſt.* κατ', *abeſt.*
434. τῆς.
439. χειρῶν.
440. φρονεῖ.
442. τρέσεις.
456. τ', *abeſt.*
462. ἐκλάπαξαι, *abeſt.*
470. μυκτηροκόπαν.
472. ὁπλήτης κλήμακος ἀμ-
βάσεις.
474. ἔτως.
475. ἐκβάλη.
479. πέμπ' ἐ κόμπω.
483. θάν.
484. ἄνδραν.
492. πύλας ἄλλος γείτονας.
494. ἱππομέδοντος.
495. πολὺν, *bis.*
497. σημαντηργός γ' ἄρ.
500. ἀιόλα.
503. βάκχάν.
507. ὡρῶτα.
514. ἐρῆς.
524. γε . . κατειπάτατος.
530. ἀροβιοιτι.
536. σέβον.
543. καὶ γοργόν.
544. ἀκόμασος.
559. τον' δ'
566. μέμψηται.
568. ἂν ἀναλευθήσαιμ'.
572. ἔιλε γάρ.
574. τωφρονέσερον.
577. πολλὰ, *abeſt.*
578. ταακτορα.
580. φόνον.
584. τελευτήν . . ἐνδαίμενον.
591. γῦια.
598. γὰρ, *abeſt.*
605. ὁμιλίκας.
606. κάκλον.
608. πλεῖον.
610. θεομίσω.
619. πόλιν.
622. ἄτυμος.
631. δὲ, *abeſt.*
632. δικαίως.
634. ὠρὸς, *abeſt.*
648. καινοπηγαῖς.
650. τεύχη.
654. τ', *abeſt.*
659. θεομενές . . καὶ, *abeſt.*
667. φοίτω.
671. πῶ, *abeſt.*
681. ἐχθροῖς τάχως.
687. ὁμαίνειν.
688. πέρας.
701. ἰχθρά.
715. ἐξίζεσαι.
719. ἄνυσις.

720. μὴ τῆς.
723. τ' ἔπος.
727. ἁ γὰρ νύκτωρ παρακελεύσατο καὶ γέγονεν.
732. ἄδ'.
738. ὅποσα . . φημένοισι.
740. αὐτοὶ κτάνωσιν.
759. ἁγνά.
766. τροχαλον.
769. εὖνει.
774. τελόμεν' ἐ.
776. ἁλφησάων.
781. τόντ'.
787. καρδία.
790. κρείσσω τέκνων.
792. 'δπιτρόπους.
796. ποτὲ κτήματα.
799. δόλιον.
801. κλυδωνίᾳ.
803. σέργει.
804. ἐφρεξάμεἰα. . μονομάχαισι.
807. Ἄπολλον.
808. δυσβουλείας.
809. πλέον.
811. χρεῶν.
816. ἐκεῖθε . . φράσω.
820. δακρύσεσθαι.
824. ἐν ταφῇ, *abeſt.*
828. καὶ, *abeſt.*
834. πολεμάρχας.
840. μὲ . . κρόν.
841. μὲ τύμβω.
842. ὡς, *abeſt.*
850. καὶ, *abeſt.*
851. ἦλε . . ἁλακτά.
856. αὐτόφονον.
861. κράτει.
867. οἴκασ'.
868. ἱερήνη.
872. φήμη.
874. ἴσχειν.
875. ἐχθρόν. . πιμέλπειν.
878. κλεώ.
881. φίλων τ'.
883. αἰχμᾷ.
885. δόμων, *abeſt.*
892. κατεύγματα, *abeſt.*
897. τὲ, *abeſt.*
906. πολισόνος.
907. σέργασι.
908. φίλανδρος.
918. *deeſt totus, poſitus poſt* 926.
921. δὲ αὐτές.
924. δ' ἐ φιλεγαθής.
925. δ' ὀκ.
927. [illegible].
928. δ', *abeſt*
930. πολίτες.
931. σίχας, *abeſt.*
932. δαίσι.
934. ωρόπαρθεν.

937.

937. ἐτελεύτησε.
941. πανωλέθριοι.
945. ζῶν.
947. ἔισ'.
950. θηκτοι.
952. ἄρης ἄρης.
958. θανθήσαντες.
959. δόμως.
960. ἄδ' . . ἀρα.
964. ἅπαντας.
971. μελεοπαθές.
972. ἴτω γόος, ἴτω δάκρυα.
973. προσκείσεται.
976. ἰὼ, *semel*, σὺ, *abest*.
977. ἄυ καί.
978. τεφθίσω.
988. ἴχι θ'.
990. και δι.
991. τάλαινα και πάθον.
995. ἰὼ, *abest*.
998. ἦσθα.
1001. τῷδ'.
1003. ἐφ' ημῖν ἐξημένος . . ἰὼ, *semel*.
1005. τὸ πρόσω.
1006. δυσανων.
1008. πολυπονώτατοι.
1009. ἐν ἄτᾳ, *abest*.
1010. ἰὼ, *semel*.
1011. τιμιωτάτων.
1013. ἀπαγγειλαι.
1017. συγῶν.
1020. ἐπέσαται.
1023. ἀναξῆρα.
1030. τὰ φέρτ'.
1034. δὲ, *abest*.
1035. δὲ, *abest*.
1038. δ', *abest*.
1043. τάτω.
1044. ασάσονται.
1050. τάδε.
1054. σὺ μὴ τιμήσης.
1057. ἀνταμείβεται.
1061. ἀλλ', *abest*. ἦσθ'.
1065. μήσυμαι.
1067. σὲ, *abest*.
1070. πευθητηρίων.
1075. πολυνείκης.
1076. γάρ.
1078. ἄχος.
1081. καί τε.
1084. ἀνατραπῆναι . . ἀλο. δαπῖς.

AN

ACCOUNT

OF THE

Manuſcript of Eſchylus,

Number 2788, in the King's Library.

By M. Vauvilliers.

THIS manuſcript is in quarto, the writing of the ſeventeenth century. It contains the Prometheus, the Seven Chiefs at Thebes, and the Perſians.

Several of the variations we have found in the manuſcripts, which we have already given an account of, are pointed out in the index, and on which, conſequently, I ought not to dwell.

I ſhall inſiſt, however, on verſe 87 of Prometheus. We have already ſeen in more manuſcripts τέχνης inſtead of τύχης; and we have conſidered this variation not only as more poetical, but alſo more expreſſive, and truer than the adopted reading.

ὅτι

ὅτῳ πρόσῳ τῆσδ' ἐκκυλισθήσῃ τέχνης, *quo pacto ex hoc artificio evolvaris!*

Whom is this queſtion of? Of Prometheus; whom force has juſt repreſented as capable of finding out reſources where there are none;

δεινὸς γὰρ εὑρεῖν κἀξ ἀμηχάνων πόρον. v. 59.
Solers enim etiam in inviis viam invenire.

The irreſiſtible power of Jupiter ſhould have triumphed over the dexterity of an inferior god.

τέχνη δ' ἀνάστατος ἀσθενεστέρα μακρῷ. 513.

Ars longè inferior neceſſitate, ſays Prometheus to the Chorus, who perſuades him to find out, in his ſagacity, means to deliver himſelf. In a word, Prometheus ſhould have been learned how far the ſubtleties of his mind were below the genius of Jupiter.

ἵνα.

μάθῃ σοφιστὴς ὢν Διὸς νωθέστερος. 62.
Ut diſcat Jove minùs ſe eſſe ſolertem veteratorem.

Now, it is not by chance, but by ſuperiority, either of counſels or dexterity, that this plan could have been brought into execution. So Vulcan complains that his excellency, in his art, has occaſioned his being choſen for ſo odious an employment.

ὦ πολλὰ μισηθεῖσα χειρωναξία. v. 45.
O multum exoſa manuum ſolertia!

Whereupon Force replies to him, that he is miſtaken in deſpiſing his talents, which are by no means the cauſe of what happens.

τῶν νῦν παρόντων ἆδεν αἰτία τέχνη. v. 47.
Harum rerum nullo modo ars cauſa eſt.

It

It is the triumph of the art of Vulcan over Prometheus, that is the actual object of Force.

αὐτὸν γάρ σε δεῖ Προμηθέως
ὅτῳ τρόπῳ τῆσδ' ὀκκυλισθήσῃ τέχνης.

Ipſe indiges Prometheo docente quâ arte ex hac arte extriceris. τέχνη retraced in one word appoſite to the ſubject, all we have juſt ſaid; τύχη expreſſes nothing but what might not be applied to any other circumſtance: therefore I ſhould not heſitate to preſer it by the authority of the ſcholiaſt ſupported by the conſent of the manuſcripts.

The cuſtom of the Attici, according to the ancient grammarians, far from retrenching the augmentum of the preter tenſe, is, on the contrary, to add another augmentation to that, which is in the rule of the common language; this is acknowledged. Some modern learned are of opinion, that poets indulged ſometimes in the ſuppreſſion, when the verſe required it. I truſt I have proved the contrary in my notes on Sophocles; and I flatter myſelf, moſt likely with ſome ſucceſs, ſince one of our moſt learned criticks, who looked upon this notion as an abſurdity, agrees now that it happens very rarely, *rariſſimè Attici augmentum abjiciunt.* It is then unaccountable how ἀλγύνθην, in the verſe 245, has been adopted in our additions for ἠλγύνθην; for really there exiſts no neceſſity, ſince it is one and the ſame meaſure: the manuſcript fixes alſo here the only true reading.

At verſe 490, in ſpeaking of the ſocieties and reciprocal wars of birds, my edition writes:

πρὸς

πρὸς ἀλλήλοις τίνες

ἐχθραί τε καὶ ςέργηθρα, καὶ συνεδρίαι. *Quænam inter ſe odia & amores & ſocietates.* The cuſtom of the language is, in the like ſentence, to make uſe of the accuſative and not the dative: the manuſcript gives then the good reading, πρὸς ἀλλήλας.

At verſe 874, ταῦτα δεῖ μακρᾷ λόγῳ, as write our editions, is undoubtedly a moſt exact form; but that of the manuſcript is confeſſedly more lively, expreſſive, and elegant, *hæc verò longi ſermonis.*

In the Seven Chiefs at Thebes, the two readings of the greateſt import are theſe I am going to relate.

At verſe 553, we read in our editions:

Παρθενοπαῖος Ἀρκάς. The learned were puzzled and divided on the manner of correcting this iambic verſe, which was found, as it was thought, to begin with a trochee. I had animadverted in my notes on Sophocles, that without its making any alteration, the verſe might be very exact, according to the principles which I had adopted in a Memoir on Homer's Proſody; and I ſhall effectually prove, that it might be read Παρθενοπάτος, with reſpect to this verſe, in the ſimpleſt manner.

I obſerved in the preceding account, on verſe 107, that the language required the particle ἄν, to give the ſentence a conditional ſignification; and the manuſcript of which I had given an account, preſenting τὶς ἂν ἦν ταῦτα πείθοιτο: I had obſerved, that the meaſure of the verſe demanded τίς ἂν ἂν ταῦτα πίθοιτο. I find again here πειθοιτο, which is an error, as well

in

in the preceding number; but I ſee ἂν placed as I wiſh for, τίς ἔν ἂν. *Quis talibus acquieſcet!*

In the Perſians, at verſe 159, I believed that χρυσεοστίλβες δόμες is a brighter expreſſion than the vulgar reading χρυσεοστόλμες.

I ſhould no more heſitate to follow the manuſcript at verſe 753.

δέδοικα μὴ πολὺς πλάτε πόνος.
δύμὸς ἀνθρώποις γένηται τᾷ φθάσαντος ἁρπαγή.

Timeo ne magnis meis laboribus acquiſitæ opes fiant hominibus occupantis præda. In our editions we read πόρος: I [illegible] the ſingle expreſſion: in Homer it might be preferable; but who ever has ſet a greater price on figures and metaphors than Pindar and Eſchylus?

But the variation the moſt obſervable is the form of the verſe 337, which is read in our editions.

πλήθες μὲν ἂν σάφ' ἴσθ' ἕκατι, βαρβάρες
ναῦσι κρατῆσαι, which ſignifies: *quoad numerum, certò ſcito barbaros claſſe ſuperaturos fuiſſe*; and this ſentence is certainly compleat. But that of the manuſcript ſeems more animated, conciſe, and elegant.

πλήθες μὲν ἦν, σάφ' ἴσθ, ἵκατι, βαρβάρων
ναῦσι κρατῆσαι.

Quod ad multitudinem pertinet, erat, certò ſcias, barbaros navibus vincere. Thoſe that are familiar with Eſchylus may not doubt that theſe cut and broken forms, are quite of his taſte, as well as that of Thucidides.

I N D E X.

PROMETHEUS.

3. Ἐπιτολάς.
6. ἀδαμαντίναις τέδαιοσιν.
Ibid. ἀρρήκτοις πέτραις.
19. ἄκουτ' ἄκων σε.
73. σὲ πρός.
74. κρίκωσον.
78. γυρίεται.
87. τέχνης.
111. πᾶσι . . πέφηνε.
113. πασαλευσμένο
122. εἰσιχνεύεσι.
123. τῶν ἕροτῶν.
133. μυχόν.
150. δὲ δή.
185. κέαρ δ'.
189. ρέχθῃ.
191. ἀριθμον.
198. δύσποτμος.
202. ἀνώσση.
213. ὑπερέχοντας.
219. μελεμβαφής.
233. φυτεῦσαι.
235. ἐτόλμησ', ἐξερυσάμην.
245. ἠλγύνθην.
258. ἐκείνω.
268. μήν τοι.
271. μοδύρεσθ'.
275. ταὐτάτοι.
293. ἐτήτυμ'.
294. σοὶ, *init. ver.*
339. δώσεινγε.
371. θερμῆς ἀπλείσε.
384. τῇδε τῇ νόσῳ.
394. ψάυει.
400. ῥαδινόν.
425. ἄλλων.
433. ἀγνηρύτων.
437. προσηλάμενον.
448. βίον.
450. ἦσαν.
475. μοί.
490. ἀλλήλως.
517. ἐκφυγν.
534. ἐμμένει.
564. πετρίνοισιν ὀρείοις.
590. φθέγματα τᾶσδε.
598. τέ.
607. Ἰί μοι χρή.
609. φραζε τε.
638. ὡς τ' ἀποκλαῦσαι.
686. λόγοις.
691. καὶ δείματ'.
729. θρασύσπλαγχνον.

839. κεκλήσεται.
866. γνώμην.
874. τᾶυτα δή.
879. ἄπειρος.
902. προσδέρκει.
903. εἰς ἄπορα.
906. ἄνθάδη φρονῶν.

LES SEPT A THEBES.

78. φοβερὰ μεγάμα τ' ἄχη.
90. δύτρεπής.
107. τὰν τεὰν γῆν.
[illegible] χρυσεοπήληξ.
143. σεθεν γὰρ ἐξ αἵματος θυγατρός.
145. θεοκλήτο ις.
210. ὅτ|οθον, *bis*.
232. δ' ἔτ'.
250. φόνῳ βροτῶν.
284. δερίπληκτα.
324. ςάθοιτε.
358. ξυμβλει.
388. θείνει.
400. ὁρμάινων μένει.
475. ἐκβάλῃ.
519. βέλος φέρων.
553. ὁ πωρθενοπᾶιος.
667. φόιτω.
701. φίλα γὰο ἐχθρά.
719. ἀνυτις.
727. θεόν.
730. ὑπαρεθύμως.
732. ἔρις ἥδ' ὑτρύνει.
738. ὁπόσην καί.
790. τῶν κρεισσόνων τέκνων
810. βασιλεῖς.
816. βαρέα μὲν ἀλλ' ὅμως.
824. τάφῳ.
840. κακόν μ' . . πριπίπλει
847. πατρῴα.
880. ἰὼ, *semel*.
901. δώμασι.
906. καὶ πολιν τε ὑπ' ἄνδρων ςόνος.
937. τοιὸςδ' ἔτεχ'.
960. ἄιδ', *abeſt*.
991. τάλαινα καὶ ἔπαθον.
1002. *deeſt*.
1003. ὁ ἐφ' ἡμίῳ ἐξημμένος.
1005. καὶ τὸ πρόσω.
1006. δυσπόλμων.
1007. ἐτέοκλες.
1008. ἰὼ, ἰὼ . . πυλυπονώτατοι
1009. ἰὼ, ἰὼ . . ἐν, *abeſt*.
1011. ἰὼ, *bis*.

1012. ἰὼ, *semel.*
1033. τῷ γε.
1041. κακῶν.
1044. απασόντατι.
1073. τίς ἂν ἂν τὰ πέεθοιτο·
1084. ἀλλοδαπῷ.

LES PERSES.

6. δαρειογενὴς υἱός.
21. ἀρταφέονης.
44. δίοπλοι.
84. ἀσύριον.
158. ϛρατῖ.
159. χρυσεοσίλβες.
239. πίπλει.
329. τοιῶν δ' ἀρχόντων.
337. βαρβάρων.
430. σιχηγοροίην.
583. ἐν δάκρυσι, *abeſt.*
609. ἄνευ τ' ὀχημάτων.
634. πέρσας εἶποι.
677. δυνάϛα δυνάϛα.
753. πόνος.
857. παντώρχας.
875. πύργον.
878. ἀυχόμεναι.
892. ἔδος.
901. ἐλαύνων.
902. χερσίν.
909. δαμασθέντες.
983. ἀπαίρεσι.
1026. *Xerxes*, σεσωσμένον.
1036. παπαῖ, *semel.*
1065. ἐϛολπίαν.
1081. πέμψω τοί σε.

AN

ACCOUNT

OF THE

Manuſcript of Eſchylus,

Number 2791, in the King's Library.

By M. Vauvilliers.

THIS volume we are going to give an account of, cannot be aſſimilated to the manuſcripts we have formerly made known. Thoſe, without being unexceptionable, enjoy however the advantage of an original text, more or leſs reſpectable, according to the age and the apparent fidelity of the copyiſt. This, as it has been written a long while after the invention of printing, and as it is poſterior to ſeveral editions of Eſchylus, without the author's giving himſelf the trouble of informing us, whether he copied a manuſcript, or an impreſſion, ought to be conſidered merely as a work of a learned man, who, attempting to work on a piece of Eſchylus, has written the text to join an interlineary interpretation and marginal notes.

The

The piece in queſtion, the moſt mutilated perhaps by copyiſts of any of the ſeven, that remain to us of Eſchylus, is Agamemnon. The author is pointed out at the ſecond part of the volume, No. 1. by this title: *Eſchyli Agamemnon, Iſaaco. Caſaubono interprete:* CIↃ IↃ CX. at the ſide is written with another ink and hand-writing: *cum ejuſdem notis et obſervationibus eruditiſſimis.*

Under it a note written in Latin, informs us, that this volume, having been ſtolen from the King's library, was replaced in it in 1729, after having been bought again by M. Rouſſelet, then theologiſt of the collegiate church of Perone.

And lower down, we read CIↃ IↃCLIII, and under it: *Jac-obi Puteani Cl-audii fil-ii,* and at the left margin, *ipſa eſt Jacobi Puteani manus, ratis Petri Puteani: uterque Bibliothecæ regiæ cuſtos & curator, & Claud-ii fil-ius.*

This ſecond date probably indicates the epocha of the firſt depoſition of the volume in the King's library; for, with reſpect to the finiſhing of the work by Caſaubon, it is evidently ſtated by the title, and by the note that ſtands at the bottom of page 96: *abſolvit Iſaacus Caſaubonus, 5°. Kal-endas mart-ii,* 1610.

This laſt note, which is clearly of the ſame hand as the title, the Greek text, and the interlineary tranſlation, and a part of the notes and marginal corrections, ſeems to announce, that all the parts of the volume have been written by Caſaubon's own hand; at leaſt the marginal corrections, which are of the ſame hand as the text, are accompanied by theſe words: *ex emendatione Iſaaci Caſauboni,* or only

ex

ex Iſaaco Caſaubono. However, this diverſity of expreſſions induces me to believe, that it is not Caſaubon himſelf, who is thus deſcribed; this ſeems to me ſtill more decided by the note on the verſe 1194, where indicating the ſubſtitution to be made to ῥινηλατέσῃ inſtead of ῥινηλατέσης, a correction adopted ſince by the critics, we ſee this expreſſion: ῥινηλατέσῃ *melius in dativo, ex If. Caſaubono: proprium eſt canum a nomine* ῥὶν. Beſides, what uſe is that continual repetition, after having once put his name at the head of the work? But what determines me in this opinion is, that ſeveral of theſe corrections, cited in the margin, as belonging to Caſaubon, are found in anterior editions, as thoſe of Rebortel in 1552, and of Canterey, in 1580. Now, it is not probable, that Caſaubon was not ignorant of the firſt; he who wrote the notes was certainly known of the ſecond, ſince it is ſometimes cited at the margin by the ſame hand, and in the ſame manner: *ex emendatione Canteri*; and it impoſſible to believe, that ſuch a man as Caſaubon ſhould have been tempted to aſcribe to himſelf, another's production. I am then of opinion, that this volume is only a fair copy of the manuſcript of Caſaubon, by ſome one, who not having before him all the editions of Eſchylus, has aſcribed to Caſaubon all the conjectures, he did not recollect having ſeen in anterior editions. But to theſe marginal notes are added, or ſcattered in different places of the page, or on ſheets inſerted between thoſe that originally compoſed the volume, other more circumſtantial notes, with more recent ink, and which I take to be written by the ſame hand, that wrote at the

the bottom of the frontiſpiece, *Jac-obi Puteani Cl-audii fil-ii*; and as the ſmall note informs us, that theſe words are of the hand of Jacques Pitou himſelf; it follows, that more modern obſervations belong to this learned man. A ſmall note at the top of the frontiſpiece, declares that the volume contains 109 ſheets; we have counted them, and have found 110 of different ſizes, which makes in all 220 pages. The cyphers that ſtand at the tops of the pages, do not follow in an uniform ſucceſſion. The numbers ſucceed de *rectō* in *rectō*, without regard to the *back*, in this manner 1, 2, 3; and then to ſuppoſe an interlineary cypher on the *back*, as 3, 5, 7, &c. which may be remarked in ſeveral places in the volume. There are alſo ſome tranſpoſitions of pages; but the ſucceſſion of the directions, and the references indicated by tranſpoſed pages, leave no room to ſuppoſe any blanks.

The name I have juſt mentioned, may be ſufficient not to expect from me any kind of general criticiſm on the merit of this work, which appears under ſuch reſpectable auſpices.

I ſhall confine myſelf to giving an account of a great number of articles, on which I ſhall deliver my opinion, becauſe I think it an obligation, obſerving, that ſeveral remarks, which at that time have been good, neceſſary or curious, are deemed at this time, uſeleſs, inſufficient, or trivial, becauſe we have the advantage of two centuries more, and what is much better, the combined aſſiſtance of a great number of criticks.

At verſe 87, our editions have: τίνος ἀγγελίας πειθοῖ περίπεμπλα θυοσκινεῖς; *cujus nuncii ſuaſu huc illuc miſſa ſacra peragis!* In the margin of our manuſcript, we read πυθοῖ, and in the note, *graviter errant qui* πειθοῖ *legunt.* It ſeems to me not doubtful, that πυθοῖ might be perfectly well read, *cujus nuncii auditu*, that is to ſay, *quo nuncio audito*; but the other gives an exact ſenſe, and I would even add, that πειθοῖ expreſſes what the learned critics wiſh, by far better than πυθοῖ: for this ſignifies but *quo nuncio audito*, and the other *quo nuncio credito.* And the [illegible] does not believe undoubtedly, that Clytemneſtra ſhould have ordered ſacrifices for good or bad news indiſcriminately, to which ſhe would not have given ſufficient confidence for engaging in ſo ſignal a reſolution.

In our editions we read, at verſe 102 and 103,

ἐλπὶς ἀμύνει φροντίδ' ἄπλητον,
τὴν θυμοβόρον λύπης φρίνα.

Spes propulſat curam immenſam, ſemetipſam exedentem præ mœrore animam. The ſcholiaſt, on the contrary, pretends, that we ſhould tranſlate *conſumptricem animi triſtitiam*, λύπης φρενὸς being, according to him, an hypallagy for λύπη φρενός; and in the margin of the manuſcript we read, *hypallage dura & planè Æſchyli, vel legendum*, λύπην φρενός; *ſed tamen nihil volo mutare.* Theſe pretended grammatical figures, which Paw calls *balbutiem meram*, were much in vogue among the ſcholiaſts; it is not ſurpriſing, if in learning their language, the greateſt men have been ſeduced by their authority. They have not even yet loſt all their credit by thoſe who believe, that λυτήριον λύπημα,

at verſe 563, of the Trachiennæ of Sophocles, ſignifies *doloris remedium*, as if there was λυπήματος. I who believe, that ἢ ἔχω λυτήριον· λύπημω· ſignifies *quâ ratione habeo dolorem ſanabilem*; as well as δέχεσθαι ἱκέτην σωτήριον, at verſe 500 of the Œdipus to Colonna, ſignifies *recipere ſupplicem ſalvandum*, and who cannot make uſe of theſe pompous words hypallagy and anacolouthy, think, for my part, that theſe verſes are very exact, as to the conſtruction; and if the meaſure of anapeſt verſes does not permit the words, in the order in which we read them, as I believe, it is easy to remedy it, by reading θυμοβόρον φρένα λύπης; for tranſpoſitions of words are ſo common in the manuſcripts, that a like mutation ſhould not be looked upon as an infringement of the text. Λύπης is here, as in many other places, tragic authors, without prepoſition; it is an elypſis too frequent, to entertain any difficulty about it.

It is by a like hypallagy that our learned critic explains, in a peculiar ſenſe, verſe 155, and following:

σπευδομένα θυσίαν
ἑτέραν, ἀνομόν τιν, ἄδαιτον,
νεικέων τέκτονα σύμφυτον.

Theſe are the words of Calchas, who, at ſight of the omen of the two eagles devouring the female of the hare, at the moment of the departure of the Grecians for Ilium, ſays, that he fears leaſt Diana ſhould demand another dire ſacrifice, of which the victim could not be eaten, by thoſe that had offered it, and which might be an everlaſting ſource of diſcord: σύμφυτον τέκτονα νεικέων, ſignifies *ſimul natus ſimul*

simul vivens, and consequently, *adhærens*, or *perpetuus fabricator discordiarum*; as at verse 108, σύμφυτος αἰών, signifies *adhærens mihi ætas*; to say, *hæc mea senectus*. But the learned commentator understands it otherwise: It should have been συμφύτων, says he, but to conform to the rule of which we have spoken; that is to say, according to the rule of the hypallagy. Æschylus has written νεικέων τέκτονα συμφύτον in the same sense as συμφύτων; and he effectually explains it after this idea, *fabrum discordiarum concordissimarum*; that is to say, *inter concordissimos, nempe Agamemnonem & Clytemnestram*. There is, as may easily be seen, much more than the supposition of an hypallage in this interpretation; and I confess, that I understand very well *discordia concors*, to express a diversity of particular motions, whence an universal harmony results; for it is impossible to find a fitter expression. But, as for *discordia concordissima*, signifying the real discord of two beings, that have been, or should be, on good terms, this is a subtilty beyond my comprehension.

We find again the same idea at verse 1207, where πῆμα παγέν is, according to the interpreter, the same thing as πήματος παγέντος. There are learned now who pretend that genitives, datives, and nominatives, may be made to agree with accusatives; plurals with singulars; masculines with feminines; and that tenses may be indiscriminately substituted to tenses or moods to moods: but the principles of the Greek grammar are so singular, that we must beg leave to expect a demonstration.

At verſe 177, θράσος, it is ſaid, *ſemper ſumitur in malam partem, &* θάρσος *in bonam.* Though this diſtinction has been made by celebrated grammarians, and we find it employed by Plutarch; the learned M. Dam has judiciouſly obſerved in his dictionary on Homer, that this poet was a ſtranger to it, and that it had not been generally obſerved by more modern writers; and this ſole paſſage in the ſecond pythic of Pindarus, will ſuffice to prove it.

ρεότατι μὲα ἀ-
μήγει θρὰσος δεινῶν πολέμων, ὅθεν
φαμὶ καὶ σὲ τὰν ἀτέι-
ρονα δόξαν εὑρεῖν.

as he alſo anſwers to the obſervation of M. Dawes, who pretends, that the verb εὑρίσκω, never ſignifies *nanſciſci* in the active, but only in the *media voce.*

Juventuti auxiliatur fortitudo in gravibus bellis, unde te aſſero, immenſam gloriam nactum eſſe. It is plain, that in this eulogium of Hiero, there is no mention either of raſhneſs nor inſolence. So we find likewiſe θράσος, at verſe 811 of the ſame tragedy, made uſe of for *fortitudo.*

It is difficult to conceive how, at verſe 331, he underſtands, that προσεννέποις is put for εἴης. *Hic,* ſays he, *appellari ponitur pro eſſe;* and yet he explains it in his natural ſenſe, *appellaveris vel dixeris;* and the ſentence is ſo clear that nobody ever miſtook it.

διχοστατεῖντ' ἂν ἐ φίλω προσεννέποις.

Diſcordantia non amicè id eſt, hoſtiliter dixeris.

The ſame remark is found again on the word κλύειν at verſe 1072, *audire,* ſays he, *pro eſſe.* It is true, all verbs that ſignify to underſtand, to be named, are employed

ployed in an acception which may ſometimes be blended without any contrary ſenſe to that of the verb to be: κεκλεῖται υἱὸς Ἀχιλλέως, ſpeaking of Pyrrhus, may be rendered without any inconvenience by *filius eſt Achillis.* But, as there is a ſenſible difference in Latin between *audit bonus*, and *bonus eſt*, becauſe one may enjoy the reputation of a good man, without being ſo; ſo in Greek, theſe expreſſions convey always a different ſignification, unleſs they are connected by the fact itſelf; and in this phraſe μαίνεταί γε καὶ κακῶν κλύει φρενῶν: *Inſanit certè, & pravæ menti obtemperat*, it ſeems impoſſible to be miſtaken; and the learned interpretor has not deceived himſelf in this interlineary interpretation.

The remark which we ſee at verſe 369, we find in Pollux, γαγγάμων in the maſculine, inſtead of γάγγαμον in the neuter, deſerves ſome attention, though it be grounded on bad editions, as I think with ſeveral learned men. Moreover, it is not to be found in Pollux, but in the Large Etymologicum. And if the author would have ſtopt there, it would be a piece of erudition, as there are ſeveral in thoſe notes, which I avoid relating, becauſe what the learned were ignorant of in thoſe times, thanks to the labours of modern critics, people now know a long while before they pretend to learning. But he adds, it might then be read here γαγγάμονα, inſtead of γάγγαμον, which will not do.

μέγα δουλείας,
γάγγαμον ἄτης παναλάστορ.

Magnum ſervitutis rete, calamitatis omnes capientis.

μέγα an adjective neuter, agrees very well with γάγγαμον

but it cannot agree with γαγλάμονα, maſculine; and the difficulty would not be removed in ſuppoſing we could alſo read μέγαν, becauſe μέγα δελείας is an anapeſt verſe, as all others of theſe pieces, and the meaſure would be broken by μέγαν. We muſt therefore regard this addition as an inadvertency of the learned. Let us add, that this obſervation would deſtroy the authority borrowed from Pollux, becauſe the paſſage where he pretends to find γαγλάμων in this lexicon is preciſely this; where, becauſe of the word ἄτης, which follows γάγλαμον, ſome copieſts have written γαγλάμονα τῆς, others γάγλαμον ἄτης. But the paſſage of Eſchylus, taken in the whole, decides the queſtion, and gives even room to believe, that in the great Etymologicum, it might eaſily be an error, the original of which would be owing to the manuſcript of Pollux.

He has been more ſucceſsful in the note on verſe 290, where he informs us that Euſtathius and Suidas read ἀγλάρα πυρὸς, inſtead of ἀγλίλα, which our editions preſent. It is true, that at the time of this expedition the Perſian word ἄγλαροι, was not yet in uſe among the Greeks, who had not yet an intercourſe with Aſia. So the uſe of this word in the mouth of Clytemneſtra, is an anticipation that might be cenſured as an anachroniſm; but expreſſion being leſs common, appears more agreeable to the taſte of Eſchylus; and the opinions of Euſtathius, Suidas, and the great Elymolgicum united together, are here of leſs authority than the manuſcript.

I do not comprehend how, at verſe 333, he underſtands, that συμφορᾶς, ſignifies both a victory and defeat.

καὶ τῶν ἁλόντων, καὶ κρατησάντων δίχα·
φθογγὰς ἀκούειν ἔστι συμφορᾶς διπλῆς.

Et captorum & victorum contrarias voces audire licet, propter duplicem eventum. Hoc verbum, says the commentator, *hic medium eſt; nam ſignificat duplicem eventum & calamitatem eorum qui victi ſunt, & felicitatem eorum qui vicerunt.* Firſt, *hic* is a fault; it does not ſtand in this paſſage, συμφορὰ, when by itſelf is every where a general expreſſion, which ſignifies happineſs or misfortune, according to circumſtances. There are related in the notes of Sophocles ſeveral paſſages, where συμφορὰ alone, without an adjective, ſignifies, at one time, proſperity, at another, a misfortune. Secondly, in thoſe verſes, the idea of a double event belongs not to συμφορᾶς, but properly to διπλῆς.

There are ſome more important errors he may be charged with; but which are involved in the ſubtilty of the ancient grammarians, who expounded all they did not comprehend, by appellations of unaccountable figures; or ſuppoſitions of poetical licences. Does not Euſtathius ſay, in his Commentary on Homer, ſometimes it is a ſoleciſm, but it gives elevation to the ſentence; ſometimes it is an error in quantity, but that the merit of the verſe lays in it? Does not he even extol it? and Madame Dacier after him. Has he not praiſed this pretended ambiguity of expreſſion as an effort of genius, in this verſe of the fourth book of the Iliad? which is however very plain:

ἦ ῥ' ὅ γ' ἀνὴρ ἀπὸ ὧν ὀχέων ἕτερ' ἄρμαθ' ἵκηται,
ἦ χεῖρ' ὀρεξάσθω. 306.

From hence it follows, that the wiſeſt among the Greeks had given an order to fight; in the execution of which, his troops would have deſtroyed each other. Here is what we read in the margin of the manuſcript at verſe 716.

ὑμέναιον, ὃς τότ' ἐπῄρτερεν
γαμβροῖσιν ἀείδειν.

Secundum communem loquendi formam oportuiſſet ponere ὃν: *Æſchylus* ὃς *ponere voluit licentiâ poëticâ.* There is however no poetical licence taken in this ſentence. *Hymenæus, quem incubuit cognatis canere,* or *qui cognatis incubuit cani,* are forms equally regular in all languages. It is good to do that, or that is good to be done. I would aſk on which ſide the poetical licence lies? The infinitive by the Greeks, as well as in our language; and as the gerund, and alſo often the infinitive, in the Latin language, are continually taken in an active or paſſive ſignification, only more frequently by the Greeks. The poets, the writers in proſe, and particularly Thucydides, furniſh us with innumerable examples.

That is alſo a very common ſentence, of which we find an example at verſe 1380.

τρανῶς Ἀτρείδην εἰδέναι κυρῶν' ἔτως; and it is perfectly rendered by an interlineary verſion: *ut perſpicuè Atridem ſciamus, habentem ſe quomodo, id eſt, quomodo ſe habeat.* What ſignifies then that note: *participium pro verbo, pro εἰδέναι κυρεῖν,* and the addition of another hand, but inherent to the firſt propoſition: *ἔτως autem hîc alieno loco poſitum eſt*; unleſs the author of theſe obſervations have not attained the meaning of the ſentence, they are giving an account of.

It is the ſame with the remark on verſe 1418: here is the verſe of Eſchylus.

τί κακὸν, ὦ γάναι χθονοτρεφὲς
ἐδανὸν ἢ ποτὸν παρσαμένα, ῥυσᾶς
ἐξ ἁλὸς ὀρόμενον;

And here is the remark: *deeſt ἤ metri cauſâ; nam oportebat ἢ ἐξ ἁλὸς, ſed metri cauſâ omiſſum eſt illud ἤ.* But ſuppoſe firſt, that this particle was neceſſary, what difference would it be to Eſchylus, to write ἢ 'ξ ἁλὸς, as they write τῇ 'νοίᾳ, inſtead of τῇ ἀνοίᾳ, ἐγὼ 'λέγω, for ἐγὼ ἀλέγω: and how can they conceive that a Greek ſhould ever have been at a loſs for the metre of a verſe? But the fact is, that it here is unneceſſary, and would only deſtroy the ſenſe: *quodnam venenum, o mulier, a terrâ nutritum, eſculentum vel poculentum hauriens, a rugoſo mari prolatum.* The author of theſe remarks thought that the diſtribution might thus be formed, *eſculentum, vel poculentum, vel a mari prolatum.* This is not a conſequence, χθονοτρεφὲς anſwers to ῥυσᾶς ἐξ ἁλὸς ὀρόμενον, *terrâ nutritum, a mari prolatum,* and ſo ἐδανὸν to ποτόν; a comma muſt then be put after χθονοτρεφὲς, and read as in a parentheſis, ἐδανὸν ἢ ποτὸν παρσαμένα, and the ſentence will ſignify, *quonam veneno, mulier, terreno, marino, eſculento vel poculento aſſumpto.*

Let us conclude what we have to ſay on theſe remarks with an obſervation, not of grammar, but of taſte, and which ſeems to belong to Caſaubon, becauſe it is of the firſt hand. It is about the diſcourſe of Clytemneſtra, in receiving Agamemnon, which begins at verſe 855, and end at verſe 922. The remark is the following: *Videtur in hâc parte parum decorum ſervaſſe Æſchylus, cùm tam frigidè Clytemneſtra Agamemnonem maritum excipiat.* Eſchylus thought otherwiſe, ſince he has taken the precaution

to

to make Clytemneſtra excuſe the warmth with which ſhe expreſſes her love. In fact, what can ſhe ſay more? Her eyes are exhauſted with tears, of which the ſight of her huſband dry up; evil dreams have unceaſingly diſturbed her: when oppreſſed by fatigue ſhe yields to ſleep; the buz of a gnat was ſufficient to awake her; deſpair has often made her attempt her life, to put an end to her grief, and often have her female attendants untied the knots ſhe had preſſed about her neck. She adds to theſe expreſſions, cares and honours, which Agamemnon himſelf finds exceſſive. This is enough, I believe, to anſwer the remark of the learned critic.

If theſe obſervations do not give a very favourable opinion of theſe notes, that is by no means applicable to the conjectures, by which the learned critic has attempted to correct the text of the tragedy. They are very numerous, for there never was a text worſe treated; and if they are not always neceſſary, if they are not always in the altered paſſages ſo neceſſary as we could wiſh, they are always ſtamped with the characters of erudition, taſte, and ſagacity: ſo that if the name of the author did not ſtand at the head of the work, it ſeems impoſſible to place any other but that of the excellent Caſaubon. There is more than one or two where it might be ſaid, *quandoque bonus dormitat Homerus*. Of this kind, for inſtance, is the ſubſtitution of ἥβας, inſtead of ἧβαν, in thoſe verſes.

ὅπως Ἀχαιῶν
δίταιρον ἁν κράτος Ἑλλάδος ἧβαν
ξύμφρονα ταγὰ
πέμψῃ . . . . . .
βάριος ὄρνις. *V.* 109, *& ſeq.*

Quomodo Achivorum duos reges, Græciæ florem,
Concordes duces miserit alis rapidus.

It seems plain, that Ἑλλάδος ἥβας would say no more than the word Ἀχαιῶν, which precedes it, would have amply expressed; whereas Ἑλλάδος ἥβαν, is the eulogium of Agamemnon and Menelaus, who is called the flower of Greece, as the scholiast of Aristophanes said ἀκμὴν δὲ πὴν νεότητα. Aristophanes, in his comedy of the Frogs, causing Euripides to cite several verses drawn from that piece of Eschylus, reads Ἑλλάδος ἥβαν, and that is sufficient to decide the question. It is not to be supposed that the manuscripts of Eschylus should be altered in his own time: the explication of his scholiast proves the contrary. I only observe, that Stanley is mistaken, when he says, that he seems to have read ἀκμὴν instead of ἥβαν; for this sentence, ἀκμὴν δὲ τὴν νεότητα, signifies that the word ἥβη, literally translated by νεότης, is taken metaphorically, in the sense of ἀκμὴ *juventus porro, flos.*

Whatever Paw may say, who seems to be determined not to approve of any thing, not even the most shrewd ideas, unless they are his own, we cannot avoid applauding the sagacity of the critic, when in this phrase:

παρθενίῳ δ' αἵματος ὀργᾷ
πειόργως ἐπιθυμεῖν
Τέμις

We see coming from his pen ἐπιταυμεῖ Ἄρτεμις.

Virginum sanguinem cupit,
Vehementissimè appetit Diana.

For besides, the text of our editions is absolutely without meaning: it is not Themis, who has never demanded

demanded the blood of Iphigenia, but certainly Artemis or Diana Stanley has ventured the ſame conjecture in his notes,

We cannot pretend to determine on all the corrections, which the margin of our manuſcript holds out in the different parts of the chorus, which ſpeaks from verſe 359 to verſe 497. They are too numerous, and the text too prolix to enable us to give a preciſe idea of them. It would be requiſite beſides to ſee how he expounds every detail, and to make the particular compariſon with the whole. It is enough to ſay, that a great number of theſe conjectures have been ſince ſupported by different critics. The glory of Caſaubon will be to have found the firſt, if he did not even open the way to thoſe that came after him. Stanley, in the preface of his edition, ſpeaks of the attempts on Eſchylus, which Caſaubon has announced in his notes on Strabo, as of a work that has not been executed, or which has been loſt. We cannot ſuſpect this great critic of having intended by this piece of cunning to hide a plagiariſm. It is true that we meet frequently in his notes, with the ſame conjectures we read in the manuſcript; and even ſome of them, where the coincidence ſeems ſurpriſing: ſuch, for inſtance, is this at verſe 1130, and following.

ἐπὶ δὲ καρδίαν ἕδραμε φροβοφεὴς
φάγων, ἅτε καὶ δορία πλάσιμος
ξυναυτεῖ βίᾳ δύντος αὐγαῖς.

Mr. Heath pretends to underſtand them as they are; he is moſt likely ſingle in his opinion. But without entering the liſts with him, let us be content

sent to say, that the conjecture of Casaubon renders this passage extremely clear: instead of δορίκ πλώσιος, this learned man reads δορὶ πλωσίμοις; from whence this meaning results: *Incurrit in cor stilla pallida, qualis in bello cadentes oculos, deficiente vitâ comitatur*; which expresses very well the situation of the heart, on hearing the dire oracles of Cassandra. A drop of pale blood retires to my heart, producing a cold moisture, as it happens to a man wounded with a lance; when the last drop growing cold, the eyes grow dim, and life exhales. Now, I find in the notes of Stanley, *legimus* δορὶ πλωσίμοις. This conformity, which we remark in a great number of articles, is nevertheless not sufficient to pronounce it a plagiarism. Two men like Casaubon and Stanley, must necessarily sometimes coincide in opinion; and if Stanley had known of the manuscript of Casaubon, he would have oftener profited by it.

To judge of the merit of the conjecture, of which I am going to speak, we must see under what form Agamemnon presents the doom pronounced by the gods against Ilion.

ἐς αἱματηρὸν τεῦχος ἐ διχορρόπως
ψήφες ἐθεῖτο, 824.

vas sanguine plenum calculos immiserunt;

τῶ δ' ἐναντίῳ κύτει
ἐλπὶς προσῆει χειρὸς ἐ πληρεμένῳ.

This word χειρὸς, does not present to me either the idea, or form of construction, that fully satisfies me. Casaubon substitutes χεῖλος, *spes autem alteri vasculo se admoveba[t], labia non implenti.* This comparison of the vain hopes of the Trojans and their unavail-

ing

ing efforts; with a thirſty man, who put his lips toward a veſſel, without being able to quench his thirſt, ſeems to me a moſt elegant image: we find it likewiſe in the notes of Stanley. Paw prefers χῆρος, *vidua*. But I cannot ſee what the meaning of widowed hope is, approaching to a veſſel that is not filled; and I verily believe, that if ſome other perſon had not riſked the conjecture of χεῖλος, Paw would not have failed to prefer it.

At verſe 636, the ſubſtitution of ἴχθος, for ἄχθος, ſeems to me very judicious: it is not to be found in Stanley, but at verſe 1110. It does not ſeem to me ſo well placed, and Stanley gives it in his notes; which confirms, I believe, what I have ſaid, that he does not appear to have known the manuſcript of Caſaubon.

In the firſt paſſage χεῖμα κοινὸν ἴχθος στρατῷ, *tempeſtas odioſa pernicies exercitûs*, is, I believe, better than the reading ἄχθος of our editions. The author of the notes cites the authority of Heſychius, reading in that paſſage κοινὸν ἴχθος, and explaining ἴχθος for κακὸν *peſtis*, which would be of a great weight; but I have not been able to verify it, becauſe of the citations not being accompanied with any note.

At verſe 1110, on the contrary,

τί τόδε νέον ἄχθος μέγα
μέγ' ἐν δόμοισι τοῖσδε μήδεται κακὸ
ἄφερτον;

Quamnam novam hanc calamitatem, magnam, magnam domibus hiſce perniciem meditatur, intolerandam! The epithet ἄφερτον, which properly ſignifies an inſupportable weight, perfectly uniform, the picture preſented by

by ἄχθος, which properly ſignifies a weight, though it deſigns figuratively all kind of adverſity and grief; and this analogy protects the common reading.

Let us conclude with an extract, which gives at once the idea of what is to be done by the critics on this piece; from what Caſaubon has done, and of the ſucceſs which may be hoped for by following his ſteps.

After the ſcene of the interview between Agamemnon and Clytemneſtra, and their withdrawing from the theatre, the chorus remains ſtruck with ſadneſs and terror; for which it cannot account, and expreſſes itſelf as follows.

τίπτε μοὶ τόδ' ἐμπίδως
δείγμα προσατήριον
καρδίας τερασκόπῳ ποτᾶται;
μαντιπόλει δ' ἀκέλευστος
ἄμισος ἀόιδα.
ἔδ' ἀποπτύσας δίκαν
δυσκρίτων ὀνειράτων
θάρσος εὐπιθὲς ἴζει
φρενὸς φίλον ἔδρανον.

In this ſentence, not mentioning the reſt, we find the maſculine, feminine, and neuter, agreeing together, as well as they can; for they may always do ſo by the help of the hypallages, of the anacoluthies, and other the like figures; but thoſe who do not underſtand that myſterious language, are without hope of ever comprehending ſuch verſes, which are only expounded by riddles. Caſaubon ſhall be their Œdipus; he reads:

τίπτε

τίπ᾽ἔ μοὶ τόδ᾽ ἐμπέδ[illegible]
δεῖμα προσατήριον
καρδίας τεραυσκόπῳ ποτᾶτ[illegible]
μαντιπολεῖ δ᾽ ἀκέλευστον
ἄμισθον ἀοίδαν.
ἐδ᾽ ἀποπλύσαν δίκαν
δυσκρίτων ὀνειράτων
θάρσος ἐυπιταιὲς ἵζει
φρενὸς φίλον θρόνον.

Quare ergo mihi conſtanter terror adhærens, animum præſagum circumvolitat, canens, quaſi vates injuſſus, carmen nullo pretio remunerandum; nec repellens, ut ſomnia non facilè judicanda, fiducia certa mentis tronum inſidet!

Certainly nothing can be clearer, nor better connected; every word is applicable to the matter, all are in their places; and if theſe conjectures were variations, found in a manuſcript, we ſhould not heſitate to adopt them; and the manuſcript that ſhould have furniſhed them, would be looked upon as a precious treaſure. They have not ſuch authority, and it is for this reaſon that I have contented myſelf with relating only a few; but I truſt they will have merit in the eyes of the learned; and I think, that if the nature of this work does not permit us to ſpare them the trouble of reading it, there will not be one, who, after having read it, that will not find his hours well employed, and return from the reading with a greater idea of the talents and erudition of its excellent author.

ACCOUNT

ACCOUNT

OF AN

Autographical Chronicle

OF

BERNARD ITERIUS,

Librarian to the Abbey of Saint Martial of Limoges, in the Thirteenth Century.

Numbered 1338, amongſt the Latin Manuſcripts in the King's Library.

By M. de Brequigny.

THIS manuſcript in vellums, contains two hundred and ſixty-two leaves in quarto. It is one of the manuſcripts of the library of the abbey of Saint Martial of Limoges, and came into the poſſeſſion of the king in 1730, with the other manuſcripts of that library. The volume contains two works of different kinds, and written in different ages: the firſt, is a collection of hymns or their tunes, in the writing of the eleventh century; the muſic is noted by the ſigns then in uſe; that is, by points, whoſe poſition being more or leſs elevated, marked the degree of raiſing or lowering the voice, but without preciſion or diſtinction of meaſure. This work, purely litur-

gic, takes up a hundred and forty-three leaves. It is followed by a treatiſe on logic, in the writing of the twelfth century, which occupies the reſt of the manuſcript, except, that on the back of the 139th leaf, there is a liſt of lucky and unlucky days, and the 140 and 141 leaves, contain a ſmall collection of enigmas, with their explanation. Theſe are both in the writing of the eleventh century.

But the hiſtorical and chronological notes, with which the margins and the two laſt leaves are filled, form the moſt intereſting part of the manuſcript. They are written by Bernard Iterius, who was librarian to the abbey of St. Martial of Limoges, in the beginning of the thirteenth century, and two of his ſucceſſors. By collecting theſe notes, which are ſcattered and without order, we obtain a chronicle, extending from the creation of the world, to the year 1297 of the Chriſtian æra; but which is not equally full of events throughout.

Of this chronicle, I purpoſe to give a more circumſtantial account, as it may ſtill be conſidered as an anecdote. Indeed, the authors of the twelfth volume of the collection of French hiſtorians have publiſhed a fragment of it; but it does not contain one page, and they made uſe of an imperfect and inaccurate copy. I think it may be uſeful therefore to give an exact account of the autographical copy, with which they were unacquainted, as it may be of ſervice to their

conti-

continuators, either for correcting the part that has been publiſhed, or giving the ſequel correctly.

In this chronicle three different parts may be diſtinguiſhed. 1ſt. The chronicle of Bernard Iterius, containing the events that paſſed in his time, and which he wrote as they occurred: 2dly. A ſupplement, for the time preceding, going back as far as Adam: 3dly. The continuation by two religious of St. Martial, who ſucceeded Iterius in his office of librarian.

To thoſe who are accuſtomed to examine manuſcripts of the middle age, it is known, that in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, it was not uncommon to fill the margins of manuſcripts, that were conſidered as of little importance, with notes entirely foreign to the ſubject of the manuſcripts. Bernard Iterius, in more inſtances than one, followed this practice. I ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of ſeven or eight manuſcripts of the library under his care, in which are found ſcattered notes in his hand-writing, in the margins, or on the leaves at the beginning or end of the manuſcript. He even wrote the catalogue of the library of his abbey, in the margins of a book of anthems of the eleventh century, of which, I ſhall alſo ſay ſomething. But to return to the chronicle in queſtion.

The leſs intereſting is the matter we are to expect from the reſearches I am about to make, the more requiſite are perſpicuity and order. I ſhall therefore lay down the method I purpoſe to follow. I ſhall prove firſt, that the two firſt

parts of this chronicle, are, by Bernard Iterius, librarian of the abbey of St. Martial: 2dly. That in the manuſcript I am examining, they are written in his own hand: 3dly. I ſhall collect what information I can, concerning Iterius himſelf, and his other writings: 4thly. I ſhall give an account of the two continuations that form the third part of the chronicle, compriſed in this manuſcript: 5thly. I ſhall give ſome examples of the utility of this chronicle: 6thly. I ſhall ſpeak of the manuſcript copies that have been made of it; and I ſhall ſhew the inaccuracy of that of Don Eſtiennot, the only one which the editors of the twelfth volume of the French hiſtorians had for their guide, by publiſhing the fragment they took from it.

I. The author of the chronicle here mentioned, tells us his name: *he has compiled*, he ſays, *by Bernard Iterius, who was afterwards librarian**. In another place, he ſpeaks in the firſt perſon, and ſays, that the office of librarian was beſtowed on him, in 1204: *injuctum eſt mihi officium armariatus.* It is probable, that it was at this period he began to write his chronographical notes on one of the manuſcripts in his care. It is likely he had no other view at firſt, than to preſerve the remem-

* *Bernardus Iterii, armanius poſta factus, qui hanc chroniçam compilavit.* Fol. manuſc. 163, recto; he is commonly called *Bernardus Iterius*, but he calls himſelf, *Bernardus Iterii.* This name, being in the genitive caſe, undoubtedly implies that it was a family name, the name of his anceſtors. We ſhould call him in French, *Bernard d'Itier.*

brance

brance of thoſe occurrences, ſince the eleventh century that ſeemed to him the moſt intereſting: but the work increaſing inſenſibly, he formed the project of compleating the chronicle, by carrying it back to the remoteſt times. In fact, he began to write at *fol.* 9, *recto* of the manuſcript, commencing from the year 1007, and continued in this manner to his own time, always on the right ſide of the leaf. Then going back, he ſet down on the other ſide of the ſame leaves, the principal events that took place from the creation to the end of the tenth century of the Chriſtian æra. This is the chief cauſe of the apparent irregularity of his chronological notes, from one end to the other.

From the moment in which he began to fill the margins of this manuſcript with theſe notes, even to the end of his life, he continued to ſet down occurrences at the time in which they took place. Thus, in giving a liſt of the preachers he had heard for thirty-three years, he ſays, that he wrote it after the end of the year 1210: *hoc ſcripſi anno gratiæ* 1210 *jam terminato.* In another place, he remarks that he wrote in the month of May, 1213, ſeveral events of that date. This coincidence of time, is worth obſerving: it gives the greater certainty to the dates, and induces us to put more confidence in the facts he relates.

The irregularity alone of the articles of this chronicle, written thus at different periods, and ſcattered as it were by chance, is a ſufficient indi-

cation of its being the original. Is it his own hand-writing? Of this we cannot doubt. Iterius's hand-writing is known to us by means of another of the king's manuſcripts, which alſo belonged to the abbey of St. Martial de Limoges: it is an hymn-book of the eleventh century, with the chant noted by the marks then in uſe.

Bernard Iterius, tells us in the firſt page, that, being librarian to the abbey of St. Martial, he thought proper to employ this manuſcript, which was of no uſe, for the purpoſe of writing a catalogue of the library of the abbey, in order to render the book uſeful, *Hec eſt noſtrorum deſcriptio facta librorum, Bernardus Iterii; hujus loci armarius in hoc volumine ideo intitulavit, quia liber iſte inutilis eſt ad legendum, & ſic non erit inutilis.*

In fact, the catalogue of theſe books is in the margins of this manuſcript. It perhaps would deſerve to be publiſhed, with notes that might be curious; but I conſider it here only as a piece to be compared for the purpoſe of aſcertaining the hand of Iterius in the chronicle, which is the object of this account. The lines I have quoted, and the whole catalogue that follows them, are evidently in the ſame hand: this chronicle, therefore, is the autograph chronicle of Iterius.

III. We are now to collect ſome information reſpecting his perſon and works. This we ſhall the more willingly do, as his name is barely mentioned by a few writers, and his writings are ſtill leſs known. His family name was Iterius. His father

father was called Peter Iterius*: he died in 1188. In that century, there were ſeveral perſons of conſiderable rank in the church of the name of Iterius; amongſt others, a biſhop of Laon; but I know not if he were of the ſame family, as the perſon of whom we are ſpeaking of. This, at leaſt, is certain, that the family of the latter was not deſtitute of property: in 1206, one of his brothers bought a vineyard, and a wine-preſs that coſt him ten thouſand ſous: a pretty large ſum at that time.

The chronicle of Bernard Iterius informs us, that he was born in 1163; that at the age of 14 he became a religious in the abbey of St. Martial of Limoges, where he was admitted into the number of young ſtudents†: that he went to Portiers in 1186, and ſpent there more than three years‡. He was ordained deacon at Bourges in 1185; took prieſts orders in 1189, and was appointed treaſurer of the abbey of St. Martial the ſame year, which place he held three years and three months. He does not forget to obſerve that during that time he cauſed a clock to be made for the abbey, and a

* Or, Petrus Iterii, fol. 188, of the king's manuſcript. See the note to page 392, on this name being uſed in the genitive.

† *In monachum receptus fuit puer ſcholaris. Fol. MS.* 177, *recto.* The abbey of St. Martial is of the order of Benedictines.

‡ Three years, four months and an half. *Ib. fol. MS.* 186, *recto.*

handſome golden crucifix, for the ſervice of good Friday.

He became ſub-librarian in 1195, and librarian in 1204: he was made prior of Tharn the ſame year, being the third prior. In fact the priory of Tharn was founded but two years before, and the priors were annual. He made ſeveral journies the following years: in 1208 he went to Clunz, to Clermont, &c. and on his return was taken dangerouſly ill. In 1216 he made another journey to Poitiers.* Careful to inform us of the minuteſt circumſtances concerning himſelf, he mentions the ſolemn maſſes he chanted the ſermons he preached, and the ornaments he cauſed to be made for the church. He was not willing that we ſhould even be ignorant of his having inſtituted a practice of devotion, in 1214, which conſiſted in reciting a ſhort prayer to the virgin fifty times a day. This prayer he gives us.

In the year 1212, he ſpeaks of two of his brothers, Audierius and Elias, who were both married. Their two wives were brought to bed within fourteen days of each other, both of twins: but the two children of the youngeſt died the day after they were baptized.

Iterius himſelf died the 25th of January 1224-5, after having continued his chronicle *to the conqueſt of Aquitaine by Louis* VIII. *in* 1224; that is, to the

* Don Eſtiennot, in the extracts he has given of the chronicle of Iterius, ſays *Perigueux:* this is wrong. I ſhall ſpeak of theſe extracts of Don Eſtiennot farther on.

expedition

expedition which that Prince undertook, in order to make himſelf maſter of it. Thoſe who ſucceeded him in the office of librarian of St. Martial, took care to continue this chronicle on the margins of the ſame manuſcript, in which he began to write it. But before I ſpeak of his continuators, I ought to notice many other of his writings leſs known than his chronicle.

He had preached many ſermons: I find one on the feaſt of the Aſcenſion among the king's manuſcripts marked 1813: his chronicle mentions it in the events of the year 1212. I alſo find ſome writings in his hand among the king's manuſcripts numbered 3719; and many appear to be fragments of ſermons*. Other leaves contain moral reflections, philoſophical diſcuſſions after the ſcholaſtic method, hiſtorical extracts, and even verſes, amongſt which are an epitaph on an abbot, who is not named, and a pretty long piece on the number ſeven. Theſe pieces have been written at different times, as is apparent from the difference of the inks. At the bottom of the laſt leaf is the date

* The king's manuſcripts, number 2037, contain alſo (fol. 1.) a ſermon on the feaſt of the Aſſumption, written in the hand of Iterius, which has led the authors of the printed catalogue of the king's manuſcripts, to ſuppoſe that the ſermon was his. But it is St. Bernard's: this is pointed out at the head of the manuſcript, where we read, in an ancient hand, *ſermo B. Bernardi abbatis.* I have collated this ſermon with thoſe of St. Bernard on this feaſt, and find no difference worth remarking. This manuſcript is ſmall folio, in vellum, 180 leaves, the writing of the twelfth century. It contains chiefly different works of St. Auſtin.

of

of 1210, in the hand of Iterius, as is alſo what precedes it: and ſome pages before, we find in the ſame hand, *B. Iterii armarius ſcripſit hæc omnia.*

Amongſt other things of little importance that he has written on ſome leaves of the manuſcript marked 5505, there are other notes on the number *ſeven*. We find alſo a kind of genealogy of the ſeven deadly ſins, which are the children of pride, and parents of all the other vices. The author diſtinguiſhes ten principal ones, of which we are to beware, in the number of which he places the ſpirit of chicanery in monks. But what is more conſiderable is an entire office in honour of the ſaints, which he ſays he wrote and compoſed himſelf, aſſuring us that whoever ſhould recite it every day, would be well recompenced by the ſaints and angels.

To give an idea of the kind and degree of knowledge Iterius poſſeſſed, I ſhall cite ſome of his hiſtorical extracts and philoſophical diſcuſſions.

In relating the genealogy of the kings of France, he goes back to Pharamond; then going down to Clotarius II. he mentions, as his daughter, Blitilda, who he ſuppoſes was married to Anſpert, father of Arnaud, who had a ſon Arnoul. This latter, who afterwards became biſhop of Metz, had been married to Begga, daughter of Pepin, mayor of the palace; by her he had Anſegiſile, whoſe ſon was Pepin, the father of Charles Martel and grandfather of Charlemagne. Such was the opinion ſtill received, in the time of Iterius of the origin of the

ſecond

ſecond race of our kings; it had been aſſerted long before the age in which he lived, but has been refuted by modern critics.

The opinions of Iterius on natural philoſophy and metaphyſics were not more juſt. In a fragment, in which he examines what conſtitutes the truly wiſe man, it is, he ſays, theſe three things, the mind or intellect, judgment, and memory. Now, according to him, theſe three faculties reſide in the head, for there are, he ſays, three cells in the brain. That which is before is the ſeat of the intellect, the middle one is that of the judgment, and the third, which is behind, that of the memory. Theſe aſſertions he pretends to prove by inſtancing wounds of the head which have ſometimes occaſioned the loſs of one of theſe faculties, without injuring either of the others.

I ſhall not reckon among the works of Iterius, the catalogue of the books of his abbey, which is merely a dry nomenclature. This catalogue, however, as I have already obſerved, might not be without its uſe, if publiſhed with notes on the works of which he gives a liſt. To form a compleat idea of the writings of Iterius, it would be neceſſary to ſet forth the different notes in his hand, that may be found in many other manuſcripts of the library that had been entruſted to him. The ſcarcity and dearneſs of vellum in his time, or, perhaps, the fear of his notes being loſt, if they were written on looſe leaves, induced him to write his remarks on the margins or blank leaves of the firſt manuſcript that came

to

to hand, without troubling himſelf whether they were at all connected with the ſubject of the manuſcript. I ſhall now point out ſeveral manuſcripts, of which he has made this uſe; I do not however pretend to be acquainted with all of them.

1ſt. There is a pretty long note in his hand, at fol. 71, *verſo*, of the king's manuſcript, marked 1248. He relates in it many occurrences of the year 1197: amongſt other things, there is the preciſe date of the election of the biſhop of Limoges, John de Vairac, the 26th of May. This date is doubtfully mentioned in the new edition of *La Gaule Chretienne**. We find alſo the date of the death of the biſhop of Poitiers, William Tempers†, and a ſingular note on the character of this biſhop, who worked miracles after his death, though no one entertained too good an opinion of his ſanctity during his life.

2d. Number 1012 affords us another note, at fol. 66, *recto*, where many perſons are mentioned to have been killed by a clap of thunder, at Souterraine, the laſt day of July, 1219. The raiſing the ſeige of Toulouſe, is alſo mentioned, and he ſays, there were near twenty biſhops at that ſeige.

3d. In the manuſcript, marked 2400, we read a liſt of names of the religions of St. Martial, in 1223, to the number of eighty-one. There

* *Joannes de Veiraco jam erat epiſcopus anno circiter* 1197, *l.* II. *col.* 527.

† The firſt of April, 1197, MS. *fol.* 91.

are alſo many necrological notes, one of which places in this year, the death of William, brother to Guy viſcount of Limoges, and of Adhémar, only ſon of the viſcount. There are ſome other dates that do not always agree with thoſe which are commonly adopted, reſpecting the ſucceſſion of the biſhops of Limoges.

4th. In the manuſcript 2768, on the back of the laſt leaf, Iterius mentions a ſingularly plentiful and early vintage in the year 1221. They began to gather the grapes on the day of Aſſumption, and finiſhed on the feſtival of St. Pardulfe (6th of October). I muſt obſerve here, that P. le Long, in his new hiſtory of Laon, under the year 1559, mentions vintages in France, in the month of July, and adds, that the wine proved good. In the ſame note of Iterius, is mentioned a very violent war, which Guy, viſcount of Limoges, waged at that time with the abbey of St. Martial.

What I have juſt ſaid is ſufficient to ſhow, that the collecting of theſe notes would not be without its uſe. Let us now proceed to the continuation of the chronicle of Iterius.

IV. I have ſaid that it was continued on the margins of the ſame manuſcript on which Iterius wrote it. If the epocha or commencement of the continuations were not known by the dates, the change of writing would inform us of it. That of the firſt continuator is in a very fine hand: he tells us that his name was Stephen de Salvaniec; that he was ſub-librarian in the time

of

of Iterius, and became librarian after him. His firſt note fixes the death of Iterius, on the 29th of January, 1224-5, as I have related above.

I have been able to learn but very little concerning Salvaniec. He was prior of Vigeois, in 1229, when he aſſiſted at the reſignation of the abbey of Vigeois, by Raimond. He was alſo prior of St. Martial; this office he held in 1254, as we are informed, by a note in another hand. Is it that of his ſucceſſor as librarian? Or did he keep that place together with the office of prior? This point is of ſo little importance that I ſhall not enter into it. I ſhall only obſerve, that we find no notes of Salvaniec, in the manuſcript I am examining, but during the ſpace of about fifteen years: and that in 1264, the writing of a new continuator, of the chronicle of Iterius, like him librarian to the abbey of St. Martial, is diſtinguiſhable. He was called *Elias du Breuil:* his hand-writing is very badly formed, and difficult to read, particularly on account of the bad quality of the ink. He informs us that he was made a monk in 1243, and that he was chanter and librarian in 1265. He was very aſſiduous in taking care of the library. In 1265 he cauſed twenty volumes that were in a bad condition to be bound. The note that tells us this circumſtance, is not of his own writing, and only gives him the title of chanter. Five years after, he had all the books of the library new bound. We find one of his notes, dated 1285, in which he ſets down the death

death of his brother Peter du Breuil, to whom he gives the title of *Miles*.

We meet with ſome notes of Elias du Breuil dated in 1286; but the manuſcript affords us only one after that period, which is of 1297. It relates to Gerald, abbot of St. Martial, who had at that time ſome diſputes with the chapter.

Theſe notes, as well as all thoſe of the chronicles of monaſteries, chiefly relate to monaſtic hiſtory: but we ſometimes find circumſtances intereſting to general hiſtory, eccleſiaſtic and civil; and it is well known what lights have been thrown upon our hiſtory, as far as the fourteenth century, by chronicles. I ought to prove this to have been the caſe, in particular, reſpecting the chronicle of Iterius and his continuators: I ſhall confine myſelf to a few examples.

V. The authors of the new edition of La Gaule Chretienne, find it difficult to fix the time of the death of Aldhuin or Hilduin, biſhop of Limoges, which they place at the lateſt in 1012. The chronicle of Iterius fixes it in the year 1014.

The ſame authors place the death of Geraud, ſucceſſor to Hilduin, in 1020: the chronicle, in 1023.

Anthrius, abbot of St. Martial, about the middle of the eleventh century, has been omitted in the continuation of the chronicle of Ademar de Chabannois; and D. Mabillon has not included him in the liſt of abbots of that monaſtery. The authors of the new *Gaule Chretienne* have not omitted him; but they confeſs themſelves unable to ſay any thing reſpecting

reſpecting the time of his adminiſtration, and content themſelves with obſerving that it was of ſhort continuance. The chronicle refers his death to the year 1245, and that of his predeceſſor to 1040.

The authors of *L'Hiſtorie Litéraire de France*, affirm, that, Adémar de Chabbanois, one of our moſt celebrated chronicle writers, was dead in 1031, and they ground their opinion on his not being at the council of Bourges, held that year, where the queſtion, concerning the apoſtleſhip of St. Martial was debated. If he had been alive, ſay they, he would not have failed being there, and would have diſtinguiſhed himſelf on the queſtion. Our chronicle ſays, that he did not die till 1034, and that he died at Jeruſalem; and this journey accounts for his not being at the council of Bourges in 1031.

Though Iterius, like the other chronicle writers of theſe times, relates facts in a ſummary way, and without diſcuſſing them, it appears, however, that he does not admit them altogether without animadverſion. Thus, in ſpeaking of a removal of the body of St. Martial, in the year 994, under the abbot Jofredus, he informs us, that he believes it to be a miſtake, and that this event ought to be placed in the time of another abbot of the ſame name, but different from him who lived in 994*: but, ſays he, I can only write what I

* *Anno gratiæ* 994, *juxta veritatem chronicæ, Veracius mihi videtur temporibus alterius Joffredi. Sed non poſſumus ſcribere niſi quod in examplaribus reperimus. Fol.* 150, *verſo.*

find

find in that copy of the chronicle, which I make uſe of.

Our Chronicle alſo aſſiſts us both in teſtifying and perfecting the chronology of the firſt abbots of Grammont, which is not ſufficiently clear in the new *Gaule Chretienne*; as well as that of the hiſtory of the ancient viſcount of Limoges, and of civil and general hiſtory, to the end of the thirteenth century. I might eaſily give examples but for the fear of rendering this account too long: I will however quote two paſſages calculated to clear up the point of chronology, and which add ſomething to what has been ſaid by the learned D. Clement in the Diſſertation prefixed to his new edition of the Art of aſcertaining Dates.

It is on the ſubject of the Victorine period, or paſchal cycle, a revolution of five hundred and thirty-two years; at the expiration of which, the characters of the years during ſuch a revolution, will be ſimilar to thoſe of the correſponding years of the preceding one. D. Clement has very juſtly obſerved that Victorius, the inventor of this period, made it begin at the year 28 of the Chriſtian æra; but that Dennis le Petit, who adopted and perfected it, made it go back one year beyond that æra: ſo that the ſecond revolution began in the year of Chriſt 532. This is in fact noted in the chronicle of Iterius*: but two other paſſages are found in the ſame Chronicle, proving that in

* *Anno gr.* DXXXII *Dionyſius paſchales ſcripſit circulos, incipiens ab anno prænotato.* Fol. 78, *recto.*

the time of Iterius a very different commencement was given to this revolution.

Don Clement agrees that in fact we muſt admit different commencements for this cycle, and he mentions ſeveral; but he ſeems to exclude that which M. Blondel ſuppoſes in his *Calendrier Romain*. According to this ſuppoſition, the firſt revolution commenced 457 years before Chriſt; the ſecond, in the year of Chriſt, 76; the third, in the year 608; and the fourth, in 1140. Now Don Clement aſſerts, that M. Blondel rather marks what might have, than what has been done. But the chronicle of Iterius proves in the moſt poſitive manner, that what M. Blondel ſuppoſes, was actually done, and that in the time of the former it was the cuſtom, at leaſt, at Limoges, to begin the cycle of 532 years, at the periods Blondel has mentioned. Theſe are the paſſages in Iterius: *anno gratiæ* 608, *incepta eſt tabula qut continet annos*, 532, *and conſummata eſt anno* 1139. And farther on: *anno gratiæ* 1140, *incipimus tabulam quæ continet annos*, 532. Thus calenders were then conſtructed conformably to this revolution, referring then to theſe epochas, which it is of ſome importance to eſtabliſh, for the ſake of aſcertaining the dates, employed in charters and other records.

VI. I truſt, I have ſufficiently ſhewn in what reſpect the chronicle may be uſeful. It remains to ſhew, how far it may be conſidered as anecdote. It is certain, that it has long been known and even quoted by different perſons, as Baluze in his hiſtory

hiſtory of Tulle, Lebeuf in his Diſſertation on the State of the Sciences in France, to the time of Philip-le-Bel, &c. There are alſo copies of it in exiſtence: the Literary Hiſtory of the order of St. Benedict, publiſhed at Vienna in 1754, quotes two; one extending from 1161, to 1220, and conſequently, incomplete; the other, where the continuation is carried to 1310, which goes farther than the autograph: Don Eſtiennot tranſcribed the greateſt part, beginning alſo in 1161: this copy, which I have ſeen, is preſerved in the library of St. Germain des preſs. It is from this, as I have ſaid above, that Don Clement has taken a part of this chronicle, which he has inſerted in the twelfth volume of the Collection of the Hiſtorians of France. He has ſince aſſured me, that he knew Iterius only from the extracts of Don Eſtiennot. If this writer, no leſs celebrated for the accuracy than extent of his knowledge, had known that the autograph of Iterius's chronicle was preſerved in the king's library, he would have been capable of giving with more correctneſs the part of it, which he has publiſhed; and he would have found, in going through the whole chronicle, other circumſtances reſpecting Iterius, beſides thoſe given in his notes.

It remains for me, to quote ſome examples of the different kinds of errors to be found in the copy of Don Eſtiennot, which has been made uſe of in the Collection of the Hiſtorians of France.

1ſt. I ſhall remark a tranſpoſition which could only ariſe from extreme negligence. The article which Don Eſtiennot's copy places in the year

1172, ought to be a century later; for in the original, it is very diſtinctly *anno domini*, MCCLXXII. Beſides, this article is in the hand of Elias du Breuil, the ſecond continuator of the Chronicle, who did not begin his continuation till 1265. Laſtly, he there ſpeaks of James, prior of Chalais*, then elected abbot of St. Martial. Now, this was in 1272, as is mentioned in the ſecond volume of *La Gaule Chretienne*, which is ſufficient to point out the miſtake; yet, it has not been adverted to in the printing of that article, in the twelfth volume of the collection of the hiſtorians of France.

2d. In the year 1188, the Chronicle reports, that Philip king of France, and Richard king of England, croſſed themſelves, *crozaverunt ſe*. Don Eſtiennot writes *coronaverunt ſe*, as if it had related to the coronation of theſe princes. The reading of the manuſcript requires no defence.

3d. Under the year 1209, the copy of don Eſtiennot, ſpeaking of a maſſacre in ſome city, expreſſes itſelf thus: *triginta & octo homines in ea trucidantur, propter hereticos, &* IPSI DEFICIUNT. The meaning of theſe laſt words, is aukward and obſcure; but in the original, they run thus; *& ipſe dominus civitatis*; which makes very good ſenſe: *there were thirty-eight men killed, and amongſt them, the lord of the city.*

4th. Under the year 1219, the Chronicle mentions robbers, who, having got into the church of

* We ſhould read de Chaleſio, not de Caleſio, as don Eſtiennot does.

the abbey of St. Martial, took away ſeveral things of value, and *ſtript* the two chanters ſtaves. This evidently means, that they took off the plates of metal, with which theſe ſtaves were covered. The original ſays: *baculos officiales duos excoriaverunt:* don Eſtiennot's copy ſays, *baculos officiales duos excommunicavirunt*, which is ridiculous.

This is, in my opinion, more than ſufficient to prove the neceſſity of having recourſe to the original, if we would make any uſe of this chronicle. I ſhall here finiſh my account, with repeating what I think we may conclude from it. It appears to me, to follow, that the chronicle of which I have been ſpeaking, has hitherto been little known, and that it deſerves to be more ſo: that the very ſmall part that has been publiſhed, has been taken from a mutilated and very incorrect copy: that the king's manuſcript, on which I have juſt been employed, being the autographical original of this chronicle, it is indiſpenſibly neceſſary to have recourſe to it, in order to give a complete edition; and I will add, that, with notes, pointing out the errors, it would diſcover to us in many other writers, it would be of ſome value to the admirers of our ancient hiſtory.

THE

BOOK of COUNSELS,

By the Scheik Ferideddin Mohammed ben Ibrakin alattar alniſchabouri.

Perſian Manuſcripts, No. 261, in 4to, 329, and 343, in 8vo, without dates.

By M. SILVESTER DE SACY.

THE Pend-nameh, or book of counſels, a moral poem in Perſian verſe, compoſed by the ſcheik Ferideddin Attan, may be conſidered as an abridgment of the moral and religious rules of the moſt devout followers of the law of Mahomet. This work, at the ſame time, deſerves to be ranked amongſt the claſſics, the peruſal of which is extremely proper for thoſe who would acquire a knowledge of the Perſian language. Its ſtile, whilſt it poſſeſſes elegance and beauty, is free from thoſe difficulties and obſcurities that characteriſe moſt of the works of this kind, ſuch, for inſtance, as the Methnévi. This conſideration has determined me to undertake the tranſlation of this poem, which I propoſe to give the public, accompanied with the Perſian text, if circumſtances do not prevent me from carrying my project into execution.

Ferideddin

Ferideddin Mohammed ben Ibrahim alniſchabouri, author of the Pend-nameh, is better known by the name of *Attar*, that is, the perfumer, becauſe in his youth he followed this buſineſs in the city of Schadbakh, where his father had been a perfumer before him. When he quitted the world to embrace a contemplative life, he paſſed many years in the exerciſe of penitence and devotion, under the guidance of the moſt celebrated men of his time, and collected the hiſtories of the lives and actions of many derviſes renowned for their ſanctity and virtues. Ferideddin was arrived at the higheſt degree of perfection, and had penetrated deeper into the ſecrets of ſpirituality than any of thoſe who preceded him, when he fell by the arms of the Moguls, in the invaſion of Genghiſkhan. He died in the year 627, (1229-30 of J. C.) at the age of one hundred and fourteen years, being born in the reign of the ſultan Sandjar Melicſchah, in the year 513, (1119-20.) A chapel was erected over his tomb, that became the object of very frequent pilgrimages.

Attara has left a great number of works, both in proſe and verſe. His moſt known poetical works are in number twelve.

Theſe titles are,

1. Aſrar-nameh.
2. Ilahi-nameh.
3. Maſſibat-nameh.
4. Djewaher-alludhdhat.
5. Waſſiyat-nameh.
6. Siah-nameh.
7. Mantak-attaïr.
8. Bulbul-nameh.
9. Mokhtar-nameh.
10. Haïdar-nameh.
11. Ghul-on-Hormuz.
12. Schutur-nameh.

The

The fifth of theſe works, is the ſame as the Pend-nameh. This is, without doubt, the moſt celebrated of his poems. It contains more than eight hundred verſes (beït); the poet begins with celebrating the greatneſs of God, the wonders he has performed in favour of his ſervants, and the omnipotence with which he directs all events, and diſtributes to his creatures good or evil, according to his will. He afterwards ſings the praiſes of Mahomet, and the moſt celebrated imans. After theſe preliminaries, he treats in ſucceſſion, but without order of the characters of true piety, of ſound devotion, of religious perfection, of renouncing the goods of this world, of virtues and vices, of their effects, and the ſigns by which they are known. He ſeems every where to addreſs himſelf to a favourite diſciple eager for inſtruction: he calls him his friend, his brother, but more frequently his ſon. There is ſcarce one of the precepts he gives him, which is not mentioned ſeveral times under different forms. This repetition, which would perhaps render a tranſlation monotonous and lanquid, is leſs diſguſting in the original, on account of the conciſeneſs of the ſtile, the break of the verſes, the rhime and *jeux de mots*, of which the inhabitants of the eaſt are very fond. Virtue is not the ſole object of the leſſons of our philoſophical poet: he occaſionally gives his pupil precepts of policy, cleanlineſs, health, decency, and urbanity. To include in a few words all that can be ſaid of this little moral poem, which will not admit of an extract, I would add, that though it be

be ſometimes disfigured with ſuperſtition, and an affected ſpirituality, yet we ſhall more frequently diſcern in it the friend of virtue and humanity, and the defects of it will not prevent us from reading it with pleaſure.

The moſt correct of the three manuſcript copies of this work in the king's library, is that numbered 329, in which the Perſian text has a tranſlation and commentary in the Turkiſh language. Omar ben Hoſſeïn, the author of this commentary, in a ſhort preface, gives an account of the motives that determined him to undertake that work, and dedicate it to Zirek-aga, one of the favourites of the ſultan Morad (Amurath*.) In this manuſcript each Perſian verſe is diſtinguiſhed by a red ſtroke over the line, and is followed by a literal tranſlation in the Turkiſh language; when any difficult paſſage occurs in the text, the commentator adds a more particular explanation. He frequently gives variations, and explains the author's thought by other Perſian verſes. This commentary is of great uſe, by explaining many terms that are employed in a ſpiritual or myſtical ſenſe, which might otherwiſe ſtop the reader's progreſs. There is alſo a Latin verſion in the margin of this manuſcript, which has been made from the Turkiſh, rather than the Perſian, as appears from many miſinterpretations, to which the ambiguity of ſome Turkiſh words has given riſe, and that would have been avoided, if the tranſlator had conſulted the

* I know not which of the Ottoman princes of this name he ſpeaks.

original.

original. The frequent and groſs errors that occur in this tranſlation, will not permit us to ſuppoſe that it is by M. Galland, to whom this manuſcript belonged.

The two other copies, marked 261 and 343, are well written, but leſs correct, particularly the laſt. The order of the chapters, is tolerably uniform in theſe two manuſcripts, but very different in the copy marked 329. In this copy, there is a very ſtriking tranſpoſition, which could only have been occaſioned by the defects of the manuſcript from which it was copied. A proof of this tranſpoſition is, that we find a chapter beginning with theſe words; *there are four other things*, &c. without four things analogous to theſe having been mentioned in the preceding chapter. There can be no doubt, therefore, of the order of the manuſcripts 261 and 343, being preferable to that of No. 329. Nothing, however, is more ſubject to variation, than the order of the chapters of this poem. I have alſo in my poſſeſſion, a copy which differs in ſome places from the king's manuſcripts.

The manuſcript 261 contains, beſides the Pend-nameh, ſome models of letters in the Turkiſh language, written on the five firſt leaves. This collection has been left unfiniſhed, and there are many blank leaves between theſe firſt, and the beginning of the Pend-nameh. The poem takes up twenty-three leaves: in the margins, and at the end of the Perſian poem, are ſome Turkiſh verſes, that appear to have been written ſince the reſt

reſt of the manuſcript. It is not perhaps ſuperfluous to remark, that each leaf is formed of two leaves, glued together, but eaſily ſeparable.

In the manuſcript 343, the poem of Attar is preceded by a leaf, containing a ſhort account, in the Turkiſh language, of the life of Sadi, a Perſian poet, author of Ghuliſtan. The Pend-nameh takes up forty-one leaves, and is followed by a fragment of another poem of the ſame author, intitled *Bulbul-nameh*, that is, the book of the nightingale. I know not how many verſes this poem ought to have, but it appears to me evidently, incomplete: the fragment fills fifteen leaves and a half. This poem, in my opinion, is much inferior to the author's reputation, nor is it eaſy to aſſign to it any diſtinct moral deſign.

All the birds appear before Solomon with complaints againſt the nightingale, whoſe unremitting ſongs are troubleſome to them, and who generally ſeems in a delirium and intoxication from which nothing can recall it. Solomen calls the kawk and orders him to find the nightingale and bring it before him; but to take care not to hurt it. The hawk, after a long journey, finds the nightingale. This amorous bird was at that moment ſinging the charms of the roſe and the pleaſures it taſted in the enjoyment of its miſtreſs. The meſſenger of Solomon, having heard with extacy his tender notes, tells the ſubject of his errand. The nightingale will not obey the king's orders; but the hawk, tired with his reſiſtance, ſeizes the nightingale in his claws and carries it to the king's palace. Solomon

lomon charges the nightingale with the delirium of which it has been accuſed by the birds, and aſcribes it to drunkenneſs, the dangers and fatal conſequences of which, he ſets before it. The nightingale pleads its cauſe before the king, and aſſerts that the tranſports of love are the ſole cauſe of the delirium which is imputed as a crime. Solomon then upbraids the other birds with their cowardice and the ſilence they keep in preſence of the nightingale, whilſt in his abſence they were exclaiming againſt him with all the eagerneſs of hatred and jealouſy. All the birds being then aſſembled, the nightingale, after having adreſſed the king, undertakes to confound the pride of his accuſers. He addreſſes himſelf ſucceſſively to the ſimorg, the hawk, the parroquet and the peacock. The firſt he upbraids with the continual ſecrecy in which he conceals himſelf, that gives room even to doubt of his exiſtence: the hawk he upbraids with the captivity and blindneſs to which he is condemned by kings who make him the inſtrument of their pleaſures: the paroquet, with the loſs of his liberty, which he ſacrifices to the fooliſh pride of uttering a few words in imitation of man: and laſtly, the peacock, with the uglineſs of his feet, which he contraſts to the pride with which he is inſpired from the richneſs of his plumage.

Here ends this fragment, which contains many fabulous ſtories or apologues, employed by Solomon, or by the nightingale in proof of their aſſertions. The firſt is the hiſtory of the angels Harout and Marout, mentioned in the Alcoran. [Upon this

on this ſubject, conſult the fourth part of the Prodrome of Maracci, page 82.]

The ſecond, is that of a man called *Manſour*, who, in a fit of intoxication, inſpired by exceſs of divine love, believed himſelf abſorbed into the ſubſtance of the ſupreme being, and in his madneſs cried, *I am God*; for which he was put to death as a blaſphemer, notwithſtanding the rectitude and purity of his intention.

The third, is a fable of a rat, who, having drank a few drops of wine, inſolently boaſted of the ſtrength and number of his troops, and threatened to cauſe the cat, that deſtroyer of his race, to be hanged. But this enemy, whom he deſpiſed, coming on a ſudden, ſeized upon him; and notwithſtanding his promiſes and fine ſpeeches, the cat would neither grant him his liberty, nor his life.

The ſtile of this little poem is prolix, and ſometimes obſcure; but I am inclined to believe this obſcurity to be generally owing to the faults of the copyiſt, and that it would be removed, if we could conſult other copies.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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